HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN MUSIC

PREFACE

Historical Development of Indian Music is a systematic and serious study of different forms and aspects of Indian music from historical perspective. It is true that without historical knowledge, music, not only of India, but also of all countries, becomes incomplete and cannot be truly appreciated. So history is an essential thing which throws proper light on all the aspects of music and musical data from the very days up to this time.

Music evolved in the prehistoric India though in a very crude form. From the history of India we know that culture and civilization of India were created by the merchant class of people, who were known as Pani (or Banik), and some are of the opinion that the Panis of prehistoric India had a link of trade and commerce with all the ancient nations of the world. They were highly developed in culture and civilization, and so it is possible that they had also developed the art of music and dancing like all other branches of art and science.

In the Vedic and the Brahmanic periods, the people of India developed also the arts of music and dancing as an essential ingredient of culture and civilization. We have discussed, in the book in a very brief way, the music materials as well as their practices in different ages. And if we observe different phases of evolution of music, we will find that Indian music has created a history of its own, having different records and chronicles of materials of music, musical manuscripts and scriptures, stone-pictures, sculptures and paintings of Rāgamālā, and it can be said that the history of Indian music has preserved the glorious tradition from the most ancient time uptil now. In India, in the pre-Christian era and also in the beginning of the Christian era,

different stone figures of singing, dancing and musical instruments are depicted in the railings, walls, and facades of the Hindu and Buddhist temples and monasteries and from these the historians say that India has produced many stone figures as the story-tellers, and they undoubtedly supply profuse materials of music to the historians of the world. The wonderful frescos of Ajanta and paintings of other cave-temples of India supply many materials of music. So the materials of early history of music of India can be collected from different sources, lives, books, manuscripts, monographs, sculptures, and paintings which are the precious treasures of India.

Now, music i.e. materials of music gradually evolved and developed in different ages with different forms and types. And it is seen that the current of evolution flows always from the lower to the upper, from the crudest to the richest and finest levels. There are numerous records and evidences in letters and writings, in stones and paintings, in things and materials. So it is not true that Indian music has no history, rather it has no missing link from the prehistoric time until now. Different kinds of culture and civilization evolved in different ages, different culture and phases of art overlapped and also interpenetrated, and thus shaped and re-shaped the old ones with new ones, and enriched the length and breadth and volume of Indian music. Besides, Indian music has a specific character of its own, and its structure and texture were constructed out of many raw materials of music and musical forms and yet it breathes the air of spirituality which means its outlook is stretched not only to this material world, but also to the Divine other-worldly region. Or it can be said that Indian music builds a golden path that connects the lowest dwelling home of the mortal man with the highest dwelling place of God i.e. earth and heaven, and imparts knowledge of supreme of a non-objective character.

I have dealt with different forms and types of music

together with different problems and their solutions. The vastness of Indian music knows no bindings and boundaries, but it expands itself keeping pace with times or different periods which pass onwards towards perfection or completion. It has absorbed many foreign elements in different times, but, at the same time, it has systematised them and designed them in its own nature. Similarly it has contributed many of its own treasures to other countries, which are genuinely recognisable when surveyed with a historical outlook.

In this second enlarged new edition, I have added many chapters with new topics which are essential to the inquisitive students of music, specially discussions on æsthetic aspects of music of East and West, as well as the development of æsthetic sense and beauty as contained in music from Muni Bharata (3rd century B.C.—2nd century A.D.) down to Panditaraja Jagannath (16th-17th century). Besides the method of composition of the text-parts of music both in Sanskrit and Bengali, together with styles, phrases, psychological and philosophical contents as contained in the forms of the text-parts of music, there are many new and important topics and Appendices which, I believe, will help the students and also the teachers of music. Some new lights have also been thrown on the musical instruments like Veena, Tumbura, Esraj, Sitar, Rabab, etc. In fact this second edition is completely a new book which has been written exclusively from the historical outlook and which serves the purpose of the lay as well as of the critical students. And I dare to say that every topic of this book will meet the demand of the research students. The portion of the 'Padavali-Kirtan of Bengal' has been corrected with many additions and alterations and the portion of 'Dhap-Kirtan' has been added. Besides, the topic on 'Music and the Musical treatises of Bengal' has especially been given prominence for the research students on those subjects. Bengal was and is still now known as the place of culture of different types of music. Classical type of *Dhruvapada*, *Khyal* or *Kheyal* and *Tappa* songs are

cultured at least for three hundred years, and this book has given the graphic descriptions of them. Moreover, I can say that I have made this new second edition a referential book.

I came from a family which all the time bears the tradition of Indian classical music, and I learned music from my childhood from my elder brother, Shri Panchkari Banerjee, who is an accomplished musician, and is especially a Dhrupadiya. Afterwards I learned *Dhrupad* from Ustad Nikunja Behari Dutt (of Sibpur, Howrah), the disciple of Sangitacharya Aghore Nath Chakravorty, Sangitacharya Gopeswar Banerjee (of Vishnupur), Prof. R. Y. Mule (of Gwalior), Jnanendra Prasad Goswami and others. It is impossible for me to forget the sweet memory of Varanasi, where I studied Navya-Nyaya under Pandit Vamacharan Bhattacharyya (younger) and *Dhrupad* under the able guidance of Sangitacharya Harinarayan Mukhopadhyay. Though the methods of improvisation or styles were different with different Ustads, yet their rich collections helped me to understand and appreciate the value and beauty of the *Dhrupads*, practised all over India in different ages. From Harinarayan Babu I collected different kinds of *Dhrupad* of different *gharanas* maintained by the old masters of India.

Now I offer my thanks and gratitude to Dr. B. V. Keskar, who was kind enough to contribute his learned Foreward to the first edition of the book. He was then the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, and now he is the honourable Chairman of the Book Trust of India, New Delhi.

I am grateful to Shri Durgapada Bhattacharyya for helping me for typing and making the manuscript of this book and also for helping me in various ways.

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Ramakrishna Vedanta Math,
19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street,
Calcutta-700006.
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SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA

FOREWORD

(TO THE FIRST EDITION)

I welcome this effort at a scientific study of the history of music by Swami Prajnanananda. It is unfortunate that at present the study of music is sadly lacking. The musicians have mainly become only practicians, some degenerating into just repetitors. The belief, strengthened during the last three centuries or so that music is only gained by practice, is an erroneons one. The study of theory, history and background of music is as essential for gaining a practical mastery over it as actual vocal or finger practice. The decline in Indian music is mainly due to the decline in the study of Shastra of music.

It is possible that during the 17th and 18th centuries, when large numbers of eminent Muslim musicians came to the fore, the study of the Shastras or the theory practically stopped, the reason being that the Shastra's are in Sanskrit and the musicians did not know anything of that superb language. From that it was only one step to maintain that there is no practical utility in the study of the books. Some of them sincerely believed that this book knowledge is utterly useless.

Absence of this vital and essential general culture of music has created a lopsided and distorted position in our music. Parrot-like copying from the voice of one Guru by his disciple has led to the gradual changing and distortion of the various compositions and even swaras. No human instrument is prefect and no Guru can transmit to his disciple exactly what he knew and hundred per cent correctly. The capacity of the disciple, physically and mentally, to assimilate whatever has been taught vocally, is the most important factor in any such transmission. As the physical potential of every being differs from others, it was natural that every disciple dropped some of the finer points of the teaching of his Guru. In half

a dozen generations this led to a very considerable change in the original compositions and the way of rendering them. This would not have happened if there had been the study of Shastra and the outline of music in writing.

The study of history and theory of music, therefore, is very essential in any further progress of music. I am very glad, therefore, that Swami Prajnanananda is rendering by writing this book a solid contribution towards that objective.

The most notable effort in the study of theory and practice of music as a Shastra was that made by the tate Pandit Bhatkhande. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the present-day renaissance of Hindusthani music owes much to the research that he carried out in unearthing old Shastric manuscripts, in gathering together with great labour and ingenuity old genuine compositions of great masters and in analysing and rationalising all the material that he had gathered into a coherent theoretical structure of Hindusthani music. It is a pity that the monumental work done by Bhatkhande could not be continued, because no such genius as he took up his mantle. But it is essential that scholars who have the right approach, should try to further the cause that he began so well.

The blind copying of particular compositions without any background or study of Shastras has brought present-day music to a sorry state. Eccentric mannerisms, distortions and such other influences have crept in. The object of music which is to please, has gone into the background. Acrobatics have gained prominence, and there is a danger of music losing popular support which is essential for its development and progress. Music is a dynamic art and if it does not adapt itself, on the foundation of the noble Shastras, to new conditions and create new forms, it will not be able to get any place in the new order of things. A large number of short-sighted musicians who have only a narrow view of things and are concerned only with themselves or their particular small group, do not realise that they are not helping in the growth

or development of music. Unless we shed the eccentricities and acrobatics that have developed in music and make it mare pleasant, more spiritual and more appealing, we will not qe able to attract the public again to the enjoyment of musical art. If no heed is paid to this state of affairs, music is not likely to gain public support in spite of all efforts of the State to revive the art.

There is another link between Swami Prajnanananda and myself. I have had the privilege of learning music for a pretty long period from the late Dhrupadacharya Shri Hari Narayan Mukhopadhyay of Banaras from whom Swamiji also learnt his music. In fact, I might say that my appreciation and glimpses into the world of music are really due to Shri Hari Narayanaji. So we have, therefore, a link of brotherhood which gives me added pleasure in writing a few words to the excellent book that Swamiji has written.

New Delhi,
September, 1, 1958.

DR. B. V. KESKAR

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A NOTE

I would like to ascribe the date of Muni Bharata, the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, to "3rd Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D." instead of 2nd Century A.D. as has already been mentioned in my books. Therefore, I request the readers to correct and read the date accordingly.

PRELUDE

From the dawn of history, ever since mankind started on its journey along the path of progress and civilization, music has had a very special charm for the human mind. It can very well be called the magic of sound, and it has always been a very important element in the culture of all civilized tribes and races. We know very well that the different moods and temperaments of different tribes and races have been very largely moulded by the physical surroundings and climatic conditions of the regions, inhabited by them. The phlegmatic and stolid inhabitants of cold and bleak regions, the gay and light-hearted children of the sunny south of Europe, the fiery tribes of the deserts with their fierce love and hate, the splendour-loving people of the gorgeous tropics are all, literally speaking, children of the soil they inhabit. Their moods and temperaments are reflected in their music in which their heightened emotions try to find an outlet. Almost unutterable woe and grief, the deep and tranquil happiness of sacred life, the ordinary pleasures and pains, love and hatred, martial ardour, call to duty, are all sought to be given expression to in the music of different tribes and races in different ways and according to their character and temperaments.

Thus, we find diversity in the music of different peoples of the world. But it seems very probable that beneath the diversity, there is an under-current of unity. The Vedānta philosophy says that the soul of humanity is one though seemingly different in different bodies. An analytical as well as comparative study of the Indian music will, therefore, be a useful step in that direction. It can at least be hoped that such a study will lead us to music which will appeal to all nations and tribes of the Aryan stock. To Indian musicians it is also necessary to preserve the continuity of progress and evolution.

There is a vast scope for improvement of Indian music through the adaptation of the Western technique of harmony, specially in orchestration. Many types of *rāgas* may find their fuller realization and attain greater richness in the Western orchestration. One can see a glimmer on the horizon of the dawn of an era of such synthesis of the Western and Eastern systems of music. But the composers of such synthetic music must have a clear perception of the spirit of the Oriental music, so that their composition may also retain its Oriental character and glamour.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY OF MUSIC

Indian music dates from dim antiquity and it is still on its march. It will not come to an end so long as it retains its creative force and artistic merit. A history is conceived as the narration or tale of memorable events that preserves the memory and propagates the knowledge of glorious culture and civilization of man and his society.

Now the term 'history' connotes the idea of progress. It does not stop for a moment, but marches onwards towards the eternity, weaving the networks of subjective thoughts and objective actions of the human society. K. A. Nilkāṇṭha Śāstrī and H. S. Ramanna say : "History is such a wide subject that it knows no beginning and no end. Each act or historical episode is the effect of some previous episode and probably leads on to another." Further they say : "History, then, is in part a science. It is also, and in a much greater degree, an art. It consists not only in collecting facts about the past, but also in thinking and feeling about them. * * We must have a proper conception of the facts, of the conditions, of the motives, and of the characters. * * The past cannot be constructed by men whose knowledge of life has been gained only from documents. Mere accumulation of facts is insufficient. Using our imagination and our judgment, we have to interpret them. No, facts do not always speak for themselves. They have to be weighed and measured. They must be placed in their proper setting. There must be intelligent reflection upon the significance of the facts. There must be that insight into reality without which the past can have no vital meaning for living men".[1] Such is also the opinion of Bury. To Croce,

1. Vide *Historical Method in Relation to Indian Histories* (1956), p. 11.

the average historian is a mere chronicler, for facts only become history when they have passed through the crucible of an individual mind. No historian can forecast the future, and so Croce rejects determinism as decisively as Toynbee. Prof. Renier. emphasises the social role of history. Toynbee, like Spengler, envisages history as a record of civilizations rather than of centuries and continents. Spengler is a quasibiological determinist "who holds that all civilizations are fated to die, and that the future will be as the past".

The character of a people is their history as written in their own subconscious mind, and to understand that character we have to turn on it the limelight of their history. Art is directly related to culture. The higher the fine arts of a people or a nation, the higher is its cultural level. Music is a part of fine art. Or it can be said that history can be regarded as an art, and history of music shall be known as 'art of arts' or a greater art, as it is not only the narrative accounts or chronicles of sensible material facts of music, but of the supersensible grace and beauty of the tones and tunes also. Philosopher Schopenhauer was of the same opinion. He says regarding the celestial beauty of music that music is "the metaphysical to everything physical in the world, and the thing-in-itself to every phenomenon ; it expresses in a perfectly universal language, in a homogenious material, more tones, and with the greatest determinateness and truth, the inner nature, thing-in-itself of the world." Plato and Aristotle call music an 'emotional import' which is no other than an imitation or idealization of reality. Kant sums up in his *Critique of Judgment* that music is the highest of arts, as it plays with sensation i.e. emotion. Hence history of music constitutes an artistic language of the creative annals of music which is an emotional aspect of naturc. In short, both aesthetic and philosophic conceptions play an important role in the domain of history of music, though its stuff is made of the detailed chronological order of realistic events and tales of music of different ages of different nations.

The history of music is closely associated with the human

society and so it does not ignore the imaginative and creative faculties of man. It has rather a deep regard for the human society. The sociological factors which are behind the creation of music, can neither be neglected, nor be ignored, as it is a product of intelligence and creative faculty of the human society. Theodore M. Finney is of the opinion that music emerged into the historic era as a social art and, consequently, its history cannot be written without mentioning its social uses. 'The types of music may vary immensely, but the forms of its use, the purposes, for which any culture retains music as a part of its social heritage, remain almost the same'.

Music is closely associated with the human society and life from the very beginning of creation. Every nation or society made their music as a means to progress and prosperity in social, political, cultural, religious, and spiritual spheres of life. In the remote days, all rites and ceremonies were connected with the elements of music. T. C. Berkeley is of the opinion that in the primitive culture, especially songs of religious or magical character, outnumber secular class of songs, such as lullabies, work songs, love songs, game and drinking songs, etc., for not only must the gods be served and placated as part of religious ritual, but also there are hundreds of other beings whose impact on everyday life, on farming, hunting, marriage, burial, war, and travel, for instance, must also be dealt with. In ancient Greece, Mesopotamia, Sumer, Ur, Chaldia, and other Near East and Western countries and ancient and greater India, music formed an integral and indispensable part of life of the people. In Bengal too, men and women have adopted music in all aspects of their everyday life from childhood to old age. In folk-entertainments and ceremonies, boys and girls perform everything to the accompaniment of music and dance. Their different domestic and religious functions are rather saturated with different types of music. The popular ballads and folk-songs are like narrative accounts of the spontaneous enjoyment of existence and of domestic events of the peoples of West Bengal. The peasant songs of the paddy-fields, the

seasonal songs of the children, the descriptive pictorial songs of the expert *Patuās*, the mystic songs of the *Sahajiyās* and the *Bāuls*, the dreamy river-songs (*bhātiyālis*) of the boatmen of Bāngāladesh, the magic chants of the snake-charmers, the marriage and hunting tunes of the *Sāntāls*, are the vividly realistic expressions of dynamic life of Bengal. Different musical instruments of folk-music like *ektāra*, *dotāra*, *sārindā*, *gopīyantra*, *vanśī* (bamboo flute), *tiprā*, *mādala*, *dholaka*, *khamaka*, *ānandalaharī*, *khanjanī karatāla*, etc. bear testimony to the fact of cultural taste and outlook of the peoples of Bengal. Besides, every country of India and outside India produced music of their own, which prove undoubtedly the dynamic aspect of the human race and society.

The history of Indian music should, therefore, be an authentic record of progress and development of music of the Indian people. It has extended itself from the antique prehistoric age upto the present time. It evolved as an inevitable material for the changing circumstances of the human society. Regarding evolutional and progressive nature of art of music, Cecil Gray says in *The History of Music*: 'In no art, science, or other departments of human activity, has the doctrine of evolution been so enthusiastically welcomed, so eagerly adopted, and so wholeheartedly endorsed, as in music. Indeed, the whole history of the art has almost invariably been conceived and represented as a single, orderly, and undeviating line of progress from the simplest and most primitive beginnings upto the complexities of modern practice; and the account of this gradual process of development, which is generally to be met with in musical histories, reads exactly like the account given in scientific text-books of the origin and evolution of life from the amœba'. The gradual evolutionary process of Indian music is really a key to the whole range of musical production that flowed from the imaginative conception of the Indian people. Many old treatises and stone carvings are extant to record and commemorate the great art of India. These should be studied in right perspective and spirit to gather the data on music :

their different types and patterns, their presentation and appreciation in different ages. That will stir our emotional depths and uplift the level of conciousness. We are still at the spade-work stage, and so we shall have to carry on the research work patiently and indefatigably.

Now, it may be asked as to what is the utility of the study of the development of music and what is the importance of maintaining a historical outlook in the practical field of music. It is a fact that man has an aspiring and progressing soul, and he always marches towards the ultimate goal of success, keeping his eyes fixed on the golden ideals of India. He requires a guide—a faithful guide, to lead him on the path of investigation into the forgotten chapters of music, to collect and preserve the materials, strewn here and there, for acquiring knowledge and making use of them. But the authors of the history of music should be unbiased and truth-seeking in their outlook. They should record the facts of development of music which should be properly interpreted to unfold their real purpose and intrinsic significance. We fully agree with Prof. Ogden while he says that "in the history of art as much as in any other branch of historical research, facts are meaningless until interpreted, and the function of the musical historian is, or should be, as different from that of the period-specialist as the function of the philosopher is from that of the chemists, physicists, biologists, anthropologists, and other scientists who provide him with his material. His concern, in short, is not with the discovery of facts, but with their interpretation, and the revelation of their intrinsic value and significance'. In the introduction to his history of music, Cecil Gray subscribes also to the same view. He says : 'But while it is unquestionably a study of the greatest interest and profit to the musician to trace the gradual development of his artistic language, seeing how each period and each composer have played their respective parts in shaping, modifying, extending, and perfecting the instrument at his disposal, rendering it more plastic and more readily responsive to every subtle inflection of his thought, it

does not constitute the history of an expressive art such as music any more than a philological study of language could pass for a history of literature, or a description of a man's physiological development for a biography'. Some are of the opinion that history of music being a collection of raw materials of music, has no value in the field of practice. To this it can be said that practice is only an active or applied form of theory, and practice is always preceded by theory. In music, a historical outlook is necessary to help the artists and lovers of music to get a clear vision of the entire field of music of all ages. It does not only furnish us with all the raw materials of music of our own, but well equips us with the knowledge of music of the other countries also.

Human taste and temperament, along with his outlook, change in different ages. They change owing to different geographical boundaries, climatic conditions, traditions, special tastes and social temperament as also for other reasons, and that is why Indian music has become more or less *different* from the music of the Western countries. Maintaining this difference, Alfred Einstein says in his *A Short History of Music*: 'The musical culture of the Near East is quite different from what may be called in a particular sense 'Oriental', that of India and Arabia and Persia. In India, the normal seven-note octave is the basis of all melody, but it becomes transformed and overgrown by a whole host of intervals employed for the sake of ornament. The Arabic-Persian system is even further removed from ours; it is built up of small units of third of a note originally seventeen and later twenty-four to the octave and shows the influence of Greek musical theory'. But it should be noticed that though music of different coutries differ in their systems, method of presentation, patterns and notations, yet amidst all the diversities there is a unity of a common fundamental psychic content. In the antique Vedic age, the chanters and common people were content with purely sacred hymnal type of the *sāmans* or *sāmagānas*, which were possessed of different numbers of notes, registers, metres and literary

compositions (*sāhitya*). In the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.), *sāmans* were replaced by the *gāndharva* type of music, which evolved in connection with drama. The *gāndharva* music was a kind of stage-song or *nāṭyadharmī-gīti*, possessed of *svara*, *tāla*, and *pada*. Similar changes took place in the music of the ancient Greek. The historian Theodore M. Finney says that music was an integral part of the drama, which bulked so large in the life of the Greek city-state. Music was a part, along with dancing, of the Greek religious ceremonies. The epics of Homer or the Odes of Pindar were sung rather than recited.

The dawn of the Christian era brought with it a new awakening in the field of Indian music. In the second century A.D., the form and system of music were more systematic with a scientific outlook in the hand of Muni Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The genuine type of *rāga* came into being, with ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) and psychological value, with the new names of *jātirāga* and *grāmarāga*. There came again a new change in the third-seventh century A.D., when Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Mataṅga and others began to systematize the aboriginal and regional (*deśī*) types of tune in the high-way classical music. This can be said to be an age of reformation, as the stereotyped puritanism was replaced by liberalism. The non-Aryan tunes gradually got into the Aryan stock and the result was that the volume and vital force of Indian music grew more deep and sensitive. Some of the foreign tunes were absorbed into the Aryan music. Hundreds and thousands of *rāgas* evolved with their new and novel names and forms. The ancient *grāmas* (scales) were gradually replaced by the *mūrcchanās* (series of upward and downward notes). Variations were found in the number of notes, as some 'displaced' (*komala*) notes appeared by the side of the sharp ones. This had also happened to the Western music, during the transition from Greek to Christian. The changes took place in the period of about six hundred years, from the time of Aristoxemus until Christianity became the

Roman state religion early in the fourth century A.D. The Ptolemic system, having the Dorian scale as a model, was changed by divers elements from Palestine, Greece, Rome, and Alexandria. The Georgian chant, plain song, plain chant, psalm-singing, Ambrosian metrical hymns, etc. were gradually changed in the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. It may be known as a revolutionary action against the old type of music, in the domain of the Western music.

From the historical accounts, placed by Curts Sachs in his *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* we know that music underwent many changes even before the Christian era. He says that the oldest records of organized and systematized music were Sumerian and Egyptian of 3000 B.C.[2] That musical life also changed in the days of David Solomon in 1000 B.C. and many foreign instruments appeared all on a sudden, just as they had appeared in Egypt after 1500 B.C. and these were : harps, zithers, oboes, cymbals, sistra,[3] etc. Again in the eighteenth century B.C. when Egypt had conquered the southwest of Asia, the subjugated king had sent tributes of dancing and singing girls with their strange instruments and consequently Egyptian music underwent again some decisive change, and nearly all the ancient instruments were discarded. This shows that before the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. music of the Western world underwent several changes.

In the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. there came

2. 'The oldest records of organized and systematized music are Sumerian and Egyptian. Sumerian texts, written in the third millenium B.C. frequently speak of ecclesiastic music ; in the great temple of Ningiru at Lagash, a special officer was responsible for the choir, and another for the training of several classes of singers and players, both male and female. The guilds of temple singers at least became a learned community***.'—vide *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* (1944), pp. 58-59.

3. Ibid, p. 59.

a radical change upon the forms and groupings of the notes (*vargīkaraṇa*) of the *rāgas* in Indian music. The total bases (*svarasthāna*), in relation to the microtones (*śrutis*), were also altered for some unknown cause. The groupings of upward and downward notes or *mūrcchanās*, as generators or determining factors of the *rāgas* had already appeared with a new nomenclature of *mela* or *thāta* or *melakartā*, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The visual pictures (*rāgamūrti*), with their poetical descriptions and contemplative compositions (*dhyāna-mantra*), were already introduced, for better appreciation and intuitive perception of the *rāgas*, from the fifteenth-sixteenth century. But gradually that psychological motive was changed, for want of æsthetic sense and proper historical outlook.

There came also a renaissance in the form of radical change during the period 1585-1610, in the domain of Western music. By the year 1600 A.D. the renaissance had reached and passed its high pitch. Theodore M. Finney reminds us : 'The years between 1585 and 1610 saw the unfolding of one of the most important episodes in the whole of history of music, because it furnished modern musical art with materials and methods hereto lacking'.

But that was not exactly the same case with Indian music. Because, though the Indian method of classification of the *rāgas* changed from the *rāga-rāginī-putra-vargīkaraṇa* into *janya-janaka* or genus-species (cause-effect) method, and most of the *rāgas* appeared with their new tonal forms, yet their real motive and spirit-behind did not entirely change. Again, from the study of the history of India it is found that Indian music has a tradition behind it and that tradition is no other than the preservation of the genuine culture and method of practice (*gharāṇā*) of music, which are handed down from generation to generation, or from the teacher to the student (*guru-śiṣyasampradāya*).

Many are of the opinion that our persent system of North Indian music is much indebted to the Mohammadan period,

because it produced many creative exponents, like Baiju Bāoran, Nāyaka Gopāla, Āmir Khusrau, Rājāh Mān, Mirā Bāi, Bābā Rāmdāsa, Sudrāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa Gaswāmī, Miāṅ Tānsen, and his worthy predecessors. Captain Day is of the opinion that the most flourishing age of Indian music was the period of the native princes, a little before the Mohammadan conquest. With the advent of the Mohammadans its decline commenced. Indeed it is wonderful that it survived at all. Such is also the decision of Capt. Willards, when he says that with the progress of the theory of music arrested, its decline was speedy, although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Muhammad Shāh of Delhi, after whose reign, history of music is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes. But all these opinions should be reviewed with care and justice.

The Gwalior School, founded by Rājāh Mān Tunwār, really revived the culture of the *dhruvapada* type of *nibaddha-prabandha* music, that was current even before the time of Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. It reached its climax during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.). The *kāwāl* and *khyāl* types of music had already got their foothold in the soil of India. Many of the noted Mohammadan and Hindu Ustāds were patronized by the Nawābs and Hindu chiefs. But during the time of Shāh Ālam II (eighteenth century A.D.), the last titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi, the glorious musical tradition of the Delhi Sultanate came to an end, and all the Muslim and Hindu Ustāds of Delhi, Agra and adjacent places were dispersed all over Northern India. The noted musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school, began to seek refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and Zemindars of Rajputana, Oudh, Betiya, Rewa, Gwalior, Bengal and other places. This incident was in a sense a blessing for India, as it helped the propagation of classical music outside the boundaries of Delhi and Agra. At present classical types of both Northern

and Southern schools of music are cultured widely in their true perspectives in Indian and Muslim countries. The services of the All India Radio undoubtedly deserve credit for the culture of music. The folk and other regional music have already occupied unique positions and got appreciation in different countries of India. The future of Indian music is more brilliant and hopeful, and it will surely bring a permanent solace of peace and love not only to the people of India, but also to other nations of the world. The development and novel creations of the types and patterns of music are the signs of hope and life, and they will supply fresh materials for the new annals of history of Indian music.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS INDIAN MUSIC

I

Music that evolved in Indian soil and imbibed the spirit and atmosphere of spiritual India, is kown as Indian Music. It possesses a synthetic vision and special character of its own, and so it differs from music of other countries in its structure, temperament and method of improvisation. Indian music has, no doubt, been influenced by foreign music and culture, but yet it has preserved its own quality and nature, and has contributed immensely its materials to other civilised countries. Or it can be said that Indian music has embraced different materials of music of other countries, but has absorbed them in an unifying method.

Music is a fine art which excels in many respects the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Indian music has an appeal to the core of the heart of the human beings, nay, it attracts and charms all the living beings of the world, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Music can be said to be the sweet and soothing sounds that vibrate and create an æsthetic feeling and beauty that overcome the feelings and beauties of the nature. So music is recognised as the greatest and finest art that brings permanent peace and solace to the human world.

The Indian authors of music are of the opinion that music of all nations of the world has its root in a supreme sound which is known as *Sphota* or *Śabda-Brahman.* Patañjali enunciated this theory of *Sphota* in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and said that the causal sound that gives birth to speech as well as to music, manifests in two ways, *anāhata* and *āhata*, unmanifested and manifested. The sound is known as *nāda.* The unmanifested, *anāhata-nāda* is causal one, whereas the manifested

āhata is a gross one. So one is the cause and the other is the effect. The causal *nāda* or sound generates from the friction of vital air with heat-energy, i.e. of *prāṇa* with *agni*, the internal fire. The entire process of origin of *nāda* or sound (musical) is a psycho-physical one.

The English word music is a derivative from French word 'muse'. In Sanskrit, it is called '*gana*', '*giti*' or '*sangita*'. The later treatises on music have explained or rather defined *sangita* as combination of vocal music, drumming and dance (*gīta, nṛtya, vādya*). The word *saṅgīta* is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (300 B.C.), *Mahābhārata* (200 B.C.), *Purāṇas* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. In the *Padāvalī-Kīrtana* and other classico-Bengali songs of Bengal, *pada* is used to denote *gāna* i.e. music composed of literature (*sāhitya*) and melody (*sura*). But *gāna* and *gītis* are the combination of sweet sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of all the living beings. *Saṅgīta* is accompanied by *pāṭhya* or *sāhitya* which is known today as *vāṇi* or *kathā*. *Gāna* or *gīta* originates with the succession of tones that produce agreeable and pleasing sensations. It is, in truth, the man's expression of deeper converse with the innermost spirit which is materialised through the medium of tones, tunes and melodies. It can be said to be the language of man's deeper soul. It is different from the speech sound of the speaking language. In the Vedic and Pauranic literature, we find the mention of speech-song which were known as *stotra* or tuneful recitation i.e. recitative music. The speech-song has a recitative value, and it carries with it æsthetic lustre and meditative value. The musical sound is possessed of sweet tune which is considered as the flavour of pleasing sound, and it is impregnated with divine lustre (*lāvaṇya*), æsthetic sentiment (*rasa*) and mood (*bhāva*). *Lāvaṇya* may be compared with the lustre of a jewel or crystal. It is also found in the face of a man or a woman, which looks sweet and loving and captivating. It can be said to be a symbol that represents the inner essence of man and even of animal.

Melody or melodic form (*rāga*) is the soul of music. Now

what do we mean by a *rāga*? A *rāga* is a psycho-material object, or an objective expression of the subjective feelings of the human mind. The mental feelings or sentiments and materials like *sāhitya*, *chhanda*, *tāla*, *laya*, etc., are the ingredients of a *rāga*. A *rāga* is first designed ideally in the mind and then is projected outside in material sound form. So in the process of both construction and manifestation of a *rāga*, mind and matter are active.

From the idealistic viewpoint, a *rāga* is a construction or projection of the mind, and, therefore, it can be said to be an image of the subjective idea or ideal. Some are of the opinion that a succession of tones that designs the melodic form, is independent of the mind, and forms an idea of the pattern of melody in the mind. But the suggestions, says Swāmī Abhedānanda, come through the eyes, through the ears, and through other organs, which are known as the gateways of sensations or inner ideas. The suggestions are not in the state of consciousness at first, but are the changes of molecules and atoms of the nervous systems and brain. Then come the ideas of feeling and sensation. At the root, they are nothing but motions. The ideas of motion are the elements, out of which the epitome of the mind substance is built. Elsewhere Swāmī Abhedānanda says in this connection: "Sensations or vibrations of the external objects which come through the nerves, are nothing but suggestions and those suggestions are carried by the nerves to the brain. But the hemispheres of the brain act from considerations, that is, from expectations of sensations which is felt in one way or other. These hemispheres are regarded as the seats of emotion, instinct and intelligence which do not exist is animals."

The modern psychologists explain everything by the *reflex action* of the brain. When we construct a structure of a melody or *rāga*, a reflection of tonal arrangement and succession floats in the mind in a thought form like an image which produces an impression (of *rāga*) in the brain. The impression of the *rāga* is again translated into a feeling, and immediately the

mind reacts, and through the reflex activities we at once project the idea of the *rāga* outside in material form, which does not involve a mechanical process, but it is conducted and governed by the intelligence that shines behind the mind. The sensation of the melody or *rāga* comes in the form of vibrations or currents of stimuli, and it suggests, instigates and inspires the artists to create melody or *rāga*. Therefore, the will-to-create is the cause of construction as well as of manifestation of melody or *rāga*, and, therefore, it is a fact that the subjective form of the *rāga* manifests as the objective one.

The nature of a *rāga* is determined by the melodic movement known as *varṇa* which helps to create and manifest the pleasing and soothing sensations. The meaning of the *varṇa* is to manifest. It moves in four different ways, and determines the *rāgas* to be manifested in different periods of the day. It is known to us that *rāgas* are produced in different times, and the temporal units are surcharged with some specific qualities of Nature, which are known as environmental mood or temper.

A *rāga* is known by its constituent tones and essentials like the sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*), the consonant (*samvādī*), the dissonant (*anuvādī*), the initial (*graha*), the final (*nyāsa*), etc. Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* first promulgated them for defining the *rāgas*. Though it is true that a *rāga* creates a pleasing sensation in the mind : '*rañjayati iti rāgaḥ*', yet its fuller significance is realized by the association of its essentials. The common significance of pleasing capacity is found in the music of the primitive nations of the world, but that music did not reach to its fuller meaning and value until and unless ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣmaṇas*) evolved as the product of human intellect as well as of necessity. In the essentials, we find a vital force which animates and manifests the form of a *rāga*. The vital force or *prāṇa* is known as *vādī*. *Vādī* is a word which speaks the nature of the *rāga*—*vadanāt iti vādī*. The vital tone that determines the true nature and value of a *rāga*, is known as *vādī*. In Bharata's time, in the 2nd century A.D., *vādī* was known as *aṁśa*, and as now-a-days one prominent tone

plays the role of a *vādi*, so in *Bharata's* time, there were numbers of *aṁśa*. That *aṁśa* was afterwards identified with *vādī*, and Śāraṅgadeva of the 13th century admitted this coincidence.

The essentials are known as the determining characteristics. A *rāga* is sustained and animated by its inherent emotional sentiments and moods that lie in the microtones, which constitute the forms of the tones and tonal successions. Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (1st century A.D.) gave the names of five microtonal units (*śruti*), *tīvrā*, *dīptā*, etc. and Bharata, on the basis of those five microtonal units, as devised by Nārada, defined 22 microtones or *śrutis*, which are surcharged with æsthetic sentiments and moods. The microtones, in truth, supply the tones their æsthetic qualities which are the lustre and value of music.

Indian music is both immanent and transcendent. It is immanent with its raw materials of microtones, tones, tunes, *mūrcchanās*, etc., and is transcendent with its surpassing divinity that unifies as well as transforms all its means or mediums. Indian music is intuitive and meditative in its nature, as it helps all to concentrate the divergent modifications of the mind and brings realization of the Divinity in the innermost depth of their hearts, which unfastens the knots of all doubts and delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of emancipation or *mukti*, the *summum bonum* of the human life.

II

Nārada (first century A.D.) said in his *Śikṣā* that both *vaidika sāmagāna* and *laukika* (*deśī*) classical type of music are possessed of ten qualities (*guṇas*), and music is manifested with them in different forms and ways. Bhattaśobhākara commented: '*laukikaṃ ca vaidikaṃ ca gānaṃ daśa-guṇa-yuktaṃ tu vaidikaṃ kāryamityuktaṃ*'.[1] These qualities (*gùṇas*) enrich and make manifest the *rāgas* and subsequently the songs or *gītis*. The ancient musicologists fomfulate this qualities as,

1. लौकिकं च वैदिकं च गानं दशगुणयुक्तम्_तु वैदिकं कार्यमित्युक्तम् ।

(a) *Raktaṃ* : An absorbing interest or attraction of men and animals for or towards the melody of the song, produced by the combination of the lute (*veeṇā*) and flute (*veṇu*). The combination imparts in them the harmonic relations between the successive notes, and thus helps to evolve the melodic form with pleasing and soothing sensations. The utility of the quality of *raktaṃ* is to attract the mind of men and animals and to create concentrated attention. The lute and the flute are the most ancient musical instruments, and in their harmonic sounds or tunes abides the divine absorbing and enchanting power.

(b) *Pūrṇa* : Nārada of the *Śikṣā* said that the distinct manifestation or presentation of metres (*cchanda*), stanzas (*pada*) and letters (*akṣara*) helps to the complete formation of tones and microtones. The latter musicologists are of the opinion that full play of the succession of notes in the bass, the medium and the high is known as *pūrṇa*.

(c) *Alaṁkṛta* : It is an easy process of manifesting the tonal sound in the bass and the high octaves. It may be said to be the requisite embellishment.

(d) *Prasanna* : Easy of recognition.

(e) *Vykta* : Expression of the stanzas (*pada*), fully equipped with music-parts (*dhātu*), words (*kathā*), metres (*cchanda*), notes (*svara*) and melodies (*rāga*). The commentator Bhattaśobhākara said that it is essential for the knowledge or perception of different numbers (*saṁkhyā*) and qualities (*guṇa*).

(f) *Vikriṣta* (or *vikruṣta*) : Distinct manifestation or clear expression of the words and sentences. Sometimes it means the clear use of notes of the high pitch.

(g) *Ślakṣṇa* : It is the fine and subtle manifestation of the notes in different tempo. It is easily recognizable in the slow (*vilamvita*) tempo.

(h) *Sama* : Proper sittings of the four melodic movements or *varṇas* to rhythm and tempo.

(i) *Sukumāra* : Easy and graceful manifestation or expression

of notes in different octaves (*saptakas*), bass, medium, and high.

(j) *Mādhuryya* : The natural, graceful and sweet expression of stanzas (*pada*), letters (*akṣara*) and notes (*svara*). It is known as the graceful shining lustre i.e. *lāvaṇya* or *lālitya*. It is a kind of quality (*guṇa*) of an object. As for example, a precious stone possesses a shining lustre of its own, and it is the '*lāvaṇya*' of the stone. As an intelligent face of a man is marked by a glow, so the sweet and orderly arranged rhythmic pattern of the notes of a *rāga* creates an inspiring sensation, which is known as '*lāvaṇya*' or lustre.[2]

Indian music is always recognized by the presentation of the tonal form of a *rāga*, and it tries to present the *rāga* in harmony with words, tune, rhythm, tempo and æsthetic sentiments and moods. So a *rāga* does never appear as a bare outline or skeleton of the tonal arrangements, but it manifests itself as living and dynamic.

The basic element of music is sound, which is manifested in the form of tones and microtones. The Indian psychologists and philosophers say that the *psyche* or soul of music is made up of sound with emotions. The *nāda* or causal

2.

व्यक्तं पूर्णं प्रसन्नं च सुकुमारमलंकृतम् ।
समं सुरक्तं श्लक्ष्णं च विकृष्टं मधुरं तथा ।।
दशैते सुगुणा गीते तत्र व्यक्तं स्फुटैः स्वरैः ।
प्रकृतिप्रत्ययैश्चोक्तं छन्दोरागपदैः स्वरैः ।।
पूर्णं पूर्णाङ्गगमकं प्रसन्नं प्रकटार्थकम् ।
सुकुमारं कण्ठभवं त्रिस्थानोत्यमलंकृतम् ।
समवर्णलयस्थानं समिमित्यभिधीयते ।
सुरक्तं वल्लकीवंश-कण्ठध्वन्यैकतायुतम् ।।
नीचोच्चद्रुतमध्यादौ श्लक्ष्णत्वे श्लक्ष्णमुच्यते ।
उच्चैरुच्चारणादुक्तं विकृष्टं भरतादिभिः ।।
मधुरं धुर्यलावण्यपूर्णं जनमनोहरम् ।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४-३७४-३७८

In the *Nāradiśikṣā*, *rakta* has been mentioned instead of *vyakta*.

sound is the basis or ground of music, and upon this primal ground all the phenomena of Indian music are built. The notes originate from the vibrations that evolve from the vital air or *prāṇa-vāyu.* The seven notes, *ṣadja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañchama, dhaivata* and *niṣāda* evolve out of the vital air, which comes in contact with the different internal parts of the body. It has been described in the *Māndukīśikṣā* :

Kaṇṭhaduttiṣṭhate ṣaḍja-ṛṣabhaḥ śirasastathā /
Nāsikāyāstu gāndhāra uraso madhyamastathā //
Uraḥ śirobhyāṃ kaṇṭhacca pañcamaḥ svara ucyate /
Dhaivataśca lalātādvai nisādaḥ sarvarūpavān //[3]

That is, the note *ṣaḍja* is born when the vital air is in friction with throat (*kaṇṭha*) ; *ṛṣabha* emanates from the seat of the head (*śira* i.e. mouth) ; *gāndhāra* from the nose ; etc. But the description of the *Nāradīśikṣā* is more rational and tenable. Nārada described that when the vital air (*prāṇa-vāyu*), rising upwards from the navel base, comes in contact with the junctions of the canal of the throat, it produces sounds of different pitches and they are *ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra* etc.[4] It is a fact

3. कण्ठादुत्तिष्ठते षड्ज-ऋषभः शिरसस्तथा ।
नासिकायास्तु गान्धारः उरसो मध्यमस्तथा ।।
उरः शिरोभ्यां कण्ठाच्च पञ्चमः स्वर उच्यते ।
धैवतश्च ललाटाद्वै निषादः सर्वरूपवान् ।।

– माण्डुकीशिक्षा

4. In the *Nāradiśikṣā* (7-12), Nārada described :
नासां कण्ठमुरस्तालुजिह्वादन्तांश्च संश्रितः ।
षड्भिः सञ्जायते यस्मात् तस्मात् षड्ज इति स्मृतः ।।
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतः ।
नर्दत्यृषभवद् यस्मात् तस्मादृषभ उच्यते ।।
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतः ।
नासा गन्धावहः पुण्यो गान्धारस्तेन हेतुना ।।
वायुः समुत्थितो नाभेरुरोहृदिसमाहतः ।
नाभि प्राप्तो महानादो मध्यमत्वं समश्नुते ।।
वायुः समुच्छ्रितो नाभेरुरोहृत्कण्ठशिरोहतः ।
पञ्चस्थानोत्थितस्यास्य पञ्चमत्वं विधीयते ।।
धैवतं च निषादं च वर्जयित्वा स्वारद्वयम ।
शेषात् पञ्चस्वरांश्चान्यानं पञ्चस्थानोच्छ्रितान् विदुः ।।

that any kind of sound originates from the friction of two or more material things. According to Yoga and Tantra philosophies, the primal will of all living beings resides in the base of the spinal column, known as *mūlādhāra*. In Tantra, it is known as *Kāmakalā* or *Kuṇḍalinī*. It is *Kuṇḍalinī*, because it is the storehouse of vital energy that lies in coiled or concentrated form. It is recognized by the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta as the cosmic will or primordial *Prakṛti*. Tantra says that the divine will remain as static, and it is figuratively described as the sleeping and coiled serpent. The serpent is a symbol of the dynamic energy. When there originates a will-to-speak or will-to-sing, the vital air intensifies the volume of the will, and makes it dynamic. It can be said that the sleeping serpent, *Kuṇḍalinī*, awakens and rises upwards through the canal or passage that passes from the navel base to the head. Śāraṅgadeva described it as the indescribable unmanifested will which passes through different plexes or *chakras* in the spinal column, and is manifested in the base of the tongue. The plexes (*chakras*) are the different levels or grades of consciousness, and when the unmanifested will-to-speak or will-to-sing manifests and rises upwards with the vital power, it feels different sensations and acquires experiences in different levels. The will is the energy and manifests as material sounds in the forms of speech and song, and takes the forms of words and music (*sāhitya* and *sura*).

The succession of seven notes forms the basic structure of the *rāga*. Even five or six notes can construct a form of melody which is the soul of music. The notes are of two kinds, placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (flat or chromatic i.e. *komala*). The displaced or flat notes are so called because of the shifting positions of the seminotes or microtones of the placed (*śuddha*) notes. In the pre-Christian era, we find no trace and use of subtle notes or seminotes. They evolved perhaps in the beginning of the Christian era. The seminotes or microtones are the subtle notes which are surcharged with emotions. The subtle notes are known as *śrutis*, and Nārada (first century A.D.)

first used these semitones or *śrutis* in the *Nāradīśikṣā*. He said,

Dīptāyatā-karuṇānāṃ mṛdu-madhyamayostathā /
śrutināṃ yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya ucyate //[5]

Nārada admitted and gave definitions of only five semitone or microtones which were known as the genus (*jāti*) in the time of Bharata (second century A.D.) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Regarding the displaced or chromatic (*komala*) notes, Nārada defined the *antarā* (*gāndhāra*) and *kākali* (*niṣāda*) : '*antaraḥ svara-saṁyukta kakaliryatra dṛśyate*'.[6] Bharata followed him and said '*svara-sādhāraṇaṃ kākali-antarā-svarau*'.[7] Bharata discovered twenty-two microtones, based upon the five casual microtones or genera (*jātis*), as used by Nārada. Bharata also devised the twenty-two microtones on the length of the wires of two same-sized lutes or *veeṇās*, *chala* and *achala* or *adhruva* and *dhruva*, and determined four subtle and audible microtonal units that constitute the stuff of the note, *ṣadja*. He placed the note *ṣadja* on the fourth microtonal unit. He made the seventh microtone as the seat or base of the note *ṛṣabha*, the ninth one as the base of *gāndhāra*, the thirteenth one as the base of *madhyama*, the seventeenth one as the seat of *pañchama*, the twentieth one as the seat of *dhaivata*, and the twenty-second one as the base of the note, *niṣāda*. But this division and allotment of the microtonal bases of the seven local (*laukika* or *deśi*) notes were however altered in the nineteenth century, and the alteration was made perhaps by a

5. दीप्तायता-करुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ।
श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषज्ञो न स आचार्य उच्यते ॥

6. अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्त काकलीर्यत्र दृश्यते ।

7. Bharata said : स्वरसाधारणं काकल्यन्तरस्वरौ । Kallināth commented : 'हि यस्मात् कारणात् काकली विकृतचतुःश्रुतिको निषादः षड्जनिषादयोः शुद्धयोः साधारणो भवेत्तदुभयश्रुतिसम्बन्धित्वेन, अतः कारणात्तस्य काकलिनो यत् साधारणं तत् साधारणं विदुः ।

Bharata said : (*a*) साधारणं नामान्तरस्वरता । कस्मात् द्वयोरन्तरस्थं तत साधारणम् ।

(*b*) काकलीसंज्ञो निषादो, न षड्जः । द्वाभ्यामन्तरंस्वरत्वात साधारणं प्रतिपद्यते । एवं गान्धारोऽप्यन्तरस्वरसंज्ञः, गान्धारो न मध्यमः । तयोरन्तस्वरत्वात * * कलत्वात काकली, कृष्टत्वाद्वा, अतिसौक्ष्ण्यत्वाद्वा, अथवा काक्षित्वात उभय सम्बन्धत्वा काकलीसंज्ञा ।

group of Western scholars, like Captain Williard, William Jones, and others. It is said that they followed the changed method of the then masters or Ustāds, Hindu and Muslim. Mohammad Rezzā Khān of Patna had supported this radical change, as he himself altered the current scheme of the classification of the *rāgas*. Some are of the opinion that Sir William Jones was the first to change the ancient scheme of the distribution of the microtones. The leading musicians and musicologists of Bengal, Sir S. M. Tagore, Kshetra Mohana Goswāmi, and others also accepted the newly moulded or modified system of the division of the microtones and their bases. The modified scheme was gradually accepted by the changing taste and temperament of the progressive society, though it should be further tested with a rational and scientific outlook.

Now, if we look into the *Nātyaśāstra*, we find that Muni Bharata first tried to determine the microtonal units of the notes so as to divide them into equal and unequal ratios in view of the measurements of their distances of the bases. Bharata divided microtones in two ancient scales (*grāmas*), *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama* with the help of two *veeṇās*, *chala* and *achala* (shifting and fixed). He said that the two *veeṇās* should first be tuned to *ṣaḍjagrāma* scale. Now it was evident that there were only seven wires to represent the seven notes of the scale on each of the two *veeṇās*. Evidently then, seven wires were to be tuned to the seven correct notes of the *ṣaḍjagrāma* scale. When one of the *veeṇās*, said Pt. Bhatkhande, was to be made *madhyamagrāmic*, all that he (Bharata) meant was that the wire representing *pañchama* in the *ṣaḍjagrāma* should slightly be loosened so as to make it produce *pañchama* of the *madhyama*, all other notes remaining in their original positions. The second direction of Bharata was most important. He directed *madhyamagrāmic veeṇā* to be converted again into a *ṣaḍjagrāmic veeṇā*, but he wanted this to be done not by restoring *pañchama* to its original pitch, but by accepting the changed *pañchama* as a proper *pañchama* for the new *saḍjagrāmic veeṇā*. Bharata said that when the shifting *veeṇā* (*chala-veeṇā*) is thus made *ṣaḍjagrāmic*, the pitch of *ṣaḍja*

will be three *śrutis*; that of *ṛṣabha*, will be six *śrutis*, that of *gāndhāra*, eight *śrutis*, and so on. By repeating this process another series of *śrutis* namely, two, five, seven, fifteen, eighteen, twenty, will be discovered. But the *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda* of the shifting (*chala*) *veeṇā* will now coincide with *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* of the fixed (*achala* or *druva*) *veeṇā*. On another repetition of the same process, the notes, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama* of the *chala-veeṇā* will coincide with *niṣada*, *gāndhāra* and *madhyama* of the *achala* or *dhruva-veeṇā*. Bharata began his investigation on the same method.

Bharata said that in the *madhyamagrāma*, *pañchama* is lowered by one *śruti*. This lowering of *pañchama* to get *madhyamagrāma pañchama*, or the raising of the *madhyamagrāma-pañchama* by one *śruti* to get the *ṣaḍjagrāma-pañchama* is the measure of a *śruti*. He further said that at first let two *veeṇās* having wires, instruments of playing, wooden frame, and *mūrchhanās* be made of identical equality and let them both be tuned to the *ṣaḍjagrāma* scale etc. Afterwards Bharata said after his final devisement that twenty-two *śrutis* of the two *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, the author expected the reader (or player) to locate the *śrutis* and *svaras* in the light of this explanation. Paṇḍit Somanāth, Paṇḍit Ahobala and others followed Bharata, but differed in some places. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya followed the scheme of Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.).

We have already discussed that Bharata determined the base of *ṣaḍja* on the fourth microtonal unit, that of *ṛṣabha* on the seventh, and so on. But those bases were changed in the nineteenth century. Regarding new changes, Kshetra Mohan Goswāmi, a noted musician and musicologist of Bengal, has mentioned in his celebrated Bengali work, *Saṅgītasāra* that the notes, possessed of audible minute seminotes, were placed on the last microtonal bases by the ancient experts. But a close analysis and examination will show, he has said, there is a less difference of space between *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* than between the notes, *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja*. The frets of a lute (*veeṇā*) also prove this fact. They show that the space or distance between

the notes *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* is double the space or distance between the notes *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja*. Perhaps, for this reason, the modern lute players (*Veeṇkāras*) have determined the seats of the notes (*svarasthānas*) on their last units of the microtones.

It has already been said that during the time of Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (first century A.D.) there were only two displaced or flat notes which were used in the Indian system of music, both in North and South, and they were the notes, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākali-niṣāda*. Bharata also adopted this method, and the result was that the total number of notes, placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (*komala*), was fixed at nine. The method was followed upto the eleventh-twelfth century A.D., and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of the displaced notes was increased to twelve. It was believed so long that the basic note, *ṣaḍja* and the fifth, *pañchama*, were unchangeable (*avikṛta*) i.e. constant ones. But during Śārangadeva's time (early thirteenth century), two notes, *ṣaḍja* and *pañchama*, were considered as changing or *chala*. Śārangadeva said that the numbers of unchangeable (*śuddha*) notes were usually seven, but for the shifting positions of the microtones, twelve displaced or flat notes evolved in time. He says :

Chyuto'chyuto dvidhā ṣaḍjo dvi-śrutir-vikṛto bhavet /
Sādhāraṇe kākalītve niṣādasya ca dṛṣyate //

* * * * *

Prāpnoti vikṛtau bhedau dvāviti dvādaśa smṛtāḥ //[8]

8. च्युतोऽच्युतो द्विधा षड्जो द्विश्रुतिर्विकृतो भवेत ।
साधारणे काकलीत्वे निषादस्य च दृश्यते ॥
साधारणे श्रुतिं षाड्जोभृषभः संश्रितो यदा ।
चतुःश्रुतित्वमायाति तदैको विकृतो भवेत ॥
साधारणे द्विश्रुतिः स्यादन्तरत्वे चतुःश्रुतिः ।
गान्धार इति तद्भेदौ द्वौ निःशङ्केन कीर्तितौ ॥
मध्यमः षड्जवद् द्वेधाऽन्तरसाधारणाश्रयात ।
पञ्चमो मध्यमग्रामे त्रिश्रुतिः कैशिके पुनः ॥
मध्यमस्य श्रुतिं प्राप्य चतुःश्रतिरिति द्विधा ।
धैवतो मध्यमग्रामे विकृतः स्याच्चतुःश्रुतिः ॥
कैशिके काकलीत्वे च निषादस्त्रि-चतुःश्रुतिः ।
प्राप्नोति विकृतौ भेदौ द्वाविति द्वादश स्मृताः ॥
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर १।३।४०।४५

Therefore, according to Śāraṅgadeva, the numbers of the microtones are 7 (*śuddha*)+12 (*vikṛta*)=19. In the middle of the sixteenth century (1550 A.D.), Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya accepted only seven displaced notes, and according to him, the total numbers of notes are 7+7=14. He said : (a) *'vikṛtaścāpi saptaivetyevaṃ sarve caturdaśaḥ'*[9] (2.33) (b) *'caturdaśa svara hyete rāge rūpe bhavantymī'*[10] (2.65). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the time of the Paṇḍit Somanāth (1909 A.D.), the numbers of the displaced notes were seven and they were known as : *'mṛdu-sa-sādhāraṇa-ga-antara-ga-mṛdu-ma-mṛdu-pa-kaiśika-ni-kākali-ni'*. But during the time of Veṅkatamakhi (1620 A.D.) the numbers of the displaced notes were reduced to five only. He said : *'svarāḥ pañcaiva vikṛtā iti siddhāntitaṃ mayā'*. So it is found that the system of twelve notes (placed or *śuddha* 7+displaced or *komala* 5=12) was in vogue in the sixteenth-seventeenth century and they are still followed in the modern system of Hindusthāni music.

What is the utility and importance of the microtones and their divisions ? The microtones are the minute audible tones (*svaras*) and they determine the definite seats or bases of the tones, their nature of manifestation, their ways of constructing the modes and melodies and even their scales. Some are of the opinion that they are useless in the present system of music, as it is not possible to distinctly use them in the field of vocal music, though they can be said to be useful in the instrumental music to some extent. But that view is not correct, because the microtonal experience or sensation is essential for the determination of the tonal bases (*svarasthāna*) as well as of the scales and æsthetic qualities of the *rāgas*. The scale (*mela*, *melakartā* or *thāta*) is the base as well as the fountainhead of various types of the melody. In truth, the scales are the melodies or *rāgas* in themselves, and yet they are known as the sources

9. विकृताश्चापि सप्तैवेत्येवं सर्वे चतुर्दशः । (२।३३)
10. चतुर्दश स्वरा ह्येते रागे-रूपे भवन्त्यमी । (२।६५)

of different *rāgas*. In ancient times, the scales were in the form of the *grāmas* or *grāmarāgas*. Afterwards they were replaced by the *mūrcchanās* or the series of seven ascending notes. In fact, the *mūrcchanās* had their origin in the *grāmas*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find the use of *mūrcchanās* in the *gānas* i.e. *jātirāgagānas*, but the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* did not mention whether the *jātirāgas* evolved from the *mūrcchanās*, rather it is understood from the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the *jātirāgas* originated from the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra*, and following them, Bharata (second century A.D.) mentioned that the pure and mixed (*śuddha* and *vikṛta*) *jātis* or *jātirāgas*, evolved from the two current *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. He did not mention the name of the *gāndhāragrāma*, because it was obsolete in his time. However, the use of the *mūrcchanās* as the origin (*janaka*) of the formalized regional tunes or *deśī-rāgas*, was already current upto the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D.

What is the psychological basis of the emotional sentiments and moods of the *rāgas*, in relation to their constituent parts, microtones? It has already been said that in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (first century A.D.), we first come accross the word '*śruti*', which determined the forms and intrinsic nature of the *grāma-rāgas*, mentioned by Nārada as well as the later *deśī rāgagītis* and *rāgas*. Nārada said that the persons, who are not acquainted with the microtones and their value, are not worthy of being regarded as the experienced teachers : '*śrutinām yo'viśeśajño na sa ācārya uchyate*'. The microtones, as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*, were given significant names, having special meanings and value. The microtones, as vised by Bharata of the *Nātyśāstra*, were twenty-two in number, and they were allotted in the seven notes as : *ṣaḍja* 4+*ṛṣabha* 3+*gāndhāra* 2+*madhyama* 4+*pañchama* 4+*dhaivata* 3+*niṣāda* 2=22. It has also been mentioned before that these twenty-two microtones of Bharata were designed after the 5 microtones of Nārada, and in the time of Bharata, these series of microtones were known as *genus-species*-relation, or *janya-janaka-samvandha*. Now to make the

genus-species, or *jāti-vyakti*, or *jāti-śruti* scheme of the seven notes explicit, the following chart will be helpful.

Nos.	Notes	Serial Nos	Microtones as determined by Bharata	Microtones as determined by Nārada	Notes, Numbers contained
1		1	tivrā	dīptā	
		2	kumudvatī	āyatā	
		3	mandra[1]	mridu	
	Saḍja ...	4	Chandovati	madhyā ...	4
		5	dayāvati	karuṇā	
		6	ranjani	madhyā	
2	Ṛṣabha ...	7	raktikā	mridu ...	3
		8	raudrī	dīptā	
3	Gāndhāra ...	9	krodhā	āyatā ...	2
		10	vajrikā	diptā	
		11	prasāriṇi	āyatā	
		12	priti	mridu	
4	Madhyama ..	13	mārjanī	madhyā ...	4
		14	kṣiti	mridu	
		15	raktikā[2]	madhyā	
		16	sandipani	āyatā	
5	Pañcama ...	17	ālāpinī	karuṇā ...	4
		18	madantī	karuṇā	
		19	rohini	āyatā	
6	Dhaivata ...	20	ramyā	madhyā ...	3
		21	ugrā	dīptā	
7	Niṣāda ...	22	kṣobhiṇī	āyatā ...	2

According to Bharata, the bases (*svarasthānas*) of the seven notes were placed on the last microtonal units, and this process seems to be rational and scientific. The five microtones (afterwards *jātis* or *janakas*), as has been said before, contain some specific and inherent emotional qualities, and they are : firmness and glowing nature (*dīptā*), broadness and universality (*āyatā*), compassion and pity (*karuṇā*), softness or slackness (*mridu*), and intermediateness or mediant nature (*madhyā*). The microtones, as devised by Bharata, were also given the significant names, like *cchandovatī*, *raudrī*, *dayāvatī*, *ramyā* etc. and

1. Or *mandā*.
2. Or *raktā*.

they were perhaps named after the images of the microtones i.e. *jātis* of Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. As for example, *chandovatī* of Bharata corresponds with *madhyā* of Nārada, and connotes the idea of order, system or peace ; *dayāvatī* corresponds with *karuṇā*, and connotes the idea of compassion ; *raudrī* corresponds with *dīptā*, and connotes the idea of firmness, strength or heroism, etc. So, from the psychological standpoint we find that the microtone, *raudrī* contains or manifests the æsthetic moods of acuteness, cheerfulness, slackness etc. which are identical with the emotional sentiment, *veera* (heroism), as described by Bharata in his *Nātyaśāstra*. In this way, it can be shown that all the microtones and the seven notes (*laukika*) are impregnated with some specific æsthetic sentiments and emotive feelings, which stir and stimulate the mind of men and even of the animals.

In fact, the notes and, consequently, the *rāgas* of not only of Indian music, but also of music of all nations of the world, are possessed of dynamic living force. They are not the dead structures of the material sound, but are the embodiment of energy and life. The inspired poets of the sixteenth-seventeenth century composed contemplative *dhyānas* of the notes and the *rāgas*, and the artists drew their colourful visual pictures. Therefore the gross sounds or sound-bodies (*śabdamaya-tanu*) of music were transformed into divine deities (*devamaya-tanu*). The worshippers and lovers of the deities found their solace and peace of mind in the divine music, and music was recognized as the greatest and foremost art :—'*na vidyā saṅgītāt paraḥ*'.

Indian music is divided into two main categories, theory and practice—*śāstra* and *sādhanā*. The one is suggestive and directive, and the other is applied and practical. The one is the way and the other is the end or highest ideal. The theory or theoretical portion of music is further divided into some different phases and they are : grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), acoustics (*śabda-vijñāna*), literature (*sāhitya*), history (*itihāsa*), iconography (*mūrtitattva*), psychology (*manovijñāna*) and philosophy (*darśana*). All these phases constitute the entirety of theory. So, by

theory of music, we can not mean only the grammar or grammatical portion of music, as it is generally understood by some scholars.

The *grammar* of music deals with the questions of sonant (*aṃśa* or *vādī*), assonant (*samvādī*), dissonant (*anuvādī*), the upward and downward movements of the notes (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*), *varṇa*, *mūrcchanā*, time factor (*kāla*), etc. of the *rāgas*. The acoustics belong to the science of physics which deals with the phenomena of sound. They determine the distinction between noise and tone, non-periodic and periodic vibrations and their sensations, etc. They deal with the scientific method of the construction of the musical instruments, the frequencies and ratios of the wire-lengths, situation of the frets, etc. The *literature* of music deals with the nature and beauty of the musical compositions, their metres, rimes, graces, etc. The *history* of music deals with the work of collecting the chronological data of music, their origin, developments and manifestations in different countries and among different nations, variations, adjustments and re-adjustments to the taste and temperament of the peoples of different times and geographical regions. The historical aspect of music really supplies a comprehensive idea of music and helps men to get the full vision of musical developments down the ages. The *iconography* of music deals with the *icons* or visual forms of the notes and the *rāgas*, with their corresponding emotional sentiments and moods. It helps men to get knowledge of both the subjective and objective designs and values of music. The *psychology* of music deals with the *psyche* or soul of music. It furnishes with the knowledge that every outward manifestation of music is caused by the mind or will-power, which is the real creator of music. So our attention should be concentrated on the creator first and then to the mover of the mind, the prime mover or higher intelligence. The *philosophy* of music deals with the real knowledge and essence of music. It imparts to men a faculty of judgement and intuitive knowledge that make them analyse and understand music as the means to an end.

Therefore, by theory of music, we must not think only of the grammar of music, but also understand that the word conveys all the phases of grammar, science, literature, history, iconography, psychology and philosophy. By practice of these phases of the theory or *śāstra*, men may attain excellence in music. The duty of the *śāstra* is to lead men to the path of spiritual *sādhanā*, and when *sādhanā* gets fruition, men attain immortality and everlasting bliss.

CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MUSIC

The idea of evolution of Indian music pervades the vast field of origin and progression of different ingredients of Indian music, such as, notes, seminotes, scales, melodies, types of songs, musical limbs and parts, visual forms or pictures of the melodies, rhythm and tempo, musical instruments, dances, hand-poses, gestures and postures, or the rhythmic and graceful movements of the body, emotional moods and sentiments, etc. Indian music is a living art. It is the dynamic power of symbolizing the divine intuition of man in sweet and soothing sound. It stimulates and stirs the human depth and awakens the higher consciousness in man.

Before entering into discussion on evolution of music, let us survey the musical æsthetics and impart dynamic impulse and impetus to men to create or project music. The psychic content always predominates over the world of matter. Every creative order is followed and motivated by the impulse of willing of the mind-content, which designs everything ideally before projecting materially outside. Evolution of music is possible through the self-expressive process of Nature, and it comes spontaneously without the deliberate application of rigid rules.

The process of evolution is known by different terms like creation, re-creation, interpretation, expression, revelation, omission, historical process, progression, etc. The evolutionary process of music comprises the musical anthropology, or the ethnic history of music, which deals with origin and growth of music in the race or country, through different strata of time and space, and which deals with the vastly varied [illegible] of music as progressively unfolded in rising racial cultures.

Music in Primitive Time

Music had its root in the most primitive savage life, and, it evolved through countless strata. Now, what are the progressively evolving concepts of music ? What is the conceptual urge of man behind the evolution of music ? The foundational urge and concepts of music evolved in man from three sources : (1) primitive impulses and intuitions, (2) gradually emerging scientific findings in concrete situations, and (3) working theories which are direct outgrowth of love of the creative art. There was an intense feeling for the art of singing and dancing in the bosom of the primitive men, and those feelings and love came out in the form of song and dance. The subjective impulse was thus manifested as the objective forms.

Everything physical and psychical in the world of phenomena emerged through the medium of process or evolution or progress. Music evolved always through the historical progress from the antique prehistoric days up to this time, and it will proceed on to the eternal future in various changing forms and patterns.

In the primitive age, music was crude and monotonous, but it is believed that it had a much greater field than the later art-music, bound up with the everyday life of the primitive people. It was connected with many special factors : sociological, psychological, religious symbolic, and linguistic. The primitive people sang and danced when they felt something positive to express and to enjoy. Singing and dancing were the spontaneous outbursts of their simple and sweet thoughts. Song and speech were often mingled in the course of their life and social performances. It also happened that logical thought and musical motive developed little by little from the indefinite to the definite in the course of the song, as if the initial dream-states were gradually manifesting as waking consciousness.

Well has it been said by Alfred Einstein that the first beginnings of music lie even deeper in historical obscurity than those of speech. Yet we shall have to gather knowledge of

the origin and evolution of music for our historical study and culture. The musical medium is the music proper, as executed in the form of physical sounds, which have their physiological and psychical correlates. Sound forms the base of musical manifestation, or it will be correct to say that material sound forms the physic or corporeal body and impulse or emotion, the *psyche* or soul of music. So when inarticulate speech is developed into the use of certain sounds as symbols for impulse or emotion, we have the beginning of speech, as distinguished from tonal manifestation or music. It may be said to be an intellectual development in the field of articulate speech, leaving music for the expression of emotion or emotive feeling of man. In fact, the will-to-create music is an intellectual message or inspiration to man and when he creates music, his feelings are moulded in pure tone-experience, and the musical material and form take the shape of a stimulate for feeling of the beauty of tone or music in itself, aside from formal art or meaning. A similar process also originated in the minds of the primitive men at the beginning of the manifestation of music on earth.

Music reveals many things of the human world, which words or speech cannot. So the primitive people did everything through words and speech, but when they sang the songs, they did it through tones and tunes, forming the narratives or stories of their daily lives. They observed the rhythm by the clanking of stones, the pounding of wood, or by the dashing of stone spearheads against wooden shields. Possibly getting the idea from the hide-covered shield, they stretched skins across the two open ends of the hollow trunks of tree or covered the open mouth of the earthen ditches and thus invented the musical instruments like drum, which accompanied their songs and dances. To keep time and to create stirring emotion, they clapped their hands, nodded their heads and moved the limbs of their bodies, and from them they gradually gathered the sense of measure of time, which, in turn, gave rise to the idea of rhythm. The primitive nations did not know at first the ratios and distant measures of the tones, but yet

they used to add the notes to the words or speech, making them suitable for music. They knew the proper modes of utterances or the process of intonation. Just as a word was sometimes a sentence to the primitive men, so was a tone in songs something of a melody. Gradually they observed the forms and beauty of cadences of rise and fall in words and tones, and from the succession of words and tones, they discovered the laws and forms of melody, though in a crude form. The growth of melody was one of the main reasons why music was so significant in the life of primitive people. Prof. Marius Schneider said that primitive melody did not grow out of harmony, harmony was rather the product of melodic variants. Singing and dancing were closely related among the primitive people, and they used to generate some-thing which was more than the original movements themselves. All the rites relating to birth, circumcision, marriage, hunting, war, weather, medicine, and death were permeated with musical elements. Among the funeral songs, the women's laments and the songs which men sang in praise of the dead deserved special mention. In primitive cultures, it was very difficult to distin-guish musically the various kinds of songs since there was still so little differentiation of form. Often the type of voice used, determined the character of a melody. Funeral songs and erotic songs were often sung in a nasal voice ; love-songs were accompanied by a significant play of the lips. In more highly developed cultures, formal differentiation was usually deter-mined by the various layers of tradition, and that tradition was evident in every society of every nation, whether primitive or advanced. An archaic style survived in animal-songs and hunting-songs, and also in children's songs, funeral songs, epic songs, and in medicine and weather charms. Lamenta-tions had a style of their own. In songs of praise of gods or supermen, the melodic line and volume tended either to rise emphatically, or to start very high. Prof. Schneider said that relation between the musical style and the content of the primitive song i.e. the words lies not in the external occasion

like rain, war, etc. but in the prevailing psychological tension. As for example, if the witch doctor implores the spirit of disease to release his patient, the song will be friendly; if he fights it with his spear, the song will be war-like; yet both will be medicine songs. In this way, it can be shown that songs of different occasions differ in their styles and moods for their different situations and different atmospheres.

From the history of the beginning of civilization we know that the primitive society was at first unable to produce a tone or song clearly and cleanly, and the pitch of the music or tonal voice was invariably wavering. From this almost imperceptible rising and falling of the voice above and below one tone, said Edward Macdowell, we may gauge more or less the state of civilization of the nation to which the song or music belonged. It is also found that the phrase-tone invariably corresponds to the sentence-word, and like it, gradually loses its meaning as a phrase and fades into a tone which, in turn, is used in new phrases as mankind mounts the ladder of civilization. Such was also the condition of words and songs in very early times.

Process of Evolution of Music

Charles Darwin was of the opinion that music evolved from the imitation of the cries and calls of the animals. Alfred Einstein also maintained similar views. He said that comparative musicology, which deals with the primitive development of music, has admitted that primitive men may have been attracted by bird-song in the first place and have continued to use it as a model for imitation. Similar belief prevails among the Indian people. It has been mentioned in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (first century A.D.): '*ṣaḍjaṃ vadati mayūro*' etc., i.e., the call of the peacock is similar to the tonality or pitch of the note *ṣaḍja*, that of the bull to to that of *ṛṣabha*; that of the goat to that of *gāndhāra*; that of the crane to that of *madhyama*; that of the cuckoo to that of *pañchama*; that of the horse to that of *dhaivata*, and that of the *kuñjara* or elephant to that of *niṣāda*. The *Śikṣā* also shows

the physico-physical origin of the musical sounds or notes from the friction of the air with different parts of the human body.

The Western savants like Roussau, Harder, and Herbert Spencer were of the opinion that speaking with a raised voice was the beginning of song or music, i.e. music evolved from the raised voice speech in the most primitive society of all nations, and a kind of speech-song or chant-like recitative was indeed to be found among the primitive men. Specially the Spencerian theory is an idealization of the natural language of passion. So, according to this theory, music is an extension of the primitive desire to communicate ; consequently its whole artistic function is related to the communication of human emotions and passions. Prof. Rowbotham did not accept the views of Spencer and pointed out that impassioned speech is the source of music and it works as a vehicle for everyday emotions. Prof. Wallaschek, on the other hand, advanced the theory that the original musical impulse was purely æsthetic, growing out of the rhythm. Some others hold that the very ancient sound-language 'is the older element from which developed both speech and song : speech striving towards free rhythm and music towards a more regulated one'. Dr. Burney was of the opinion that music is anterior to word and language. He said in his *General History of Music* : 'Vocal music is of such high antiquity that its origin seems to have been cœval with mankind ; at least the lengthened tones of pleasure and pain, of joy and affection, must long have preceded every other language, and music. The voice of passion wants but few articulations, and must have been nearly the same in all human creatures, differing only in gravity or acuteness according to age, sex, and organization, till the invention of words by particular convention, in different societies, weakened, and by degrees rendered it unintelligible'. In fact, we know very little about the true languages of the primitive cultures of different nations. Various races might have displayed the elements of sound-languages, but so far only a small number of examples have been collected.

Music that evolved in the remote primitive time, can be

divided into two classes, purely emotional and sensuous ; the one arising from the language of heroes, and the other from the swaying or wavering of the body and the patter of feet. To both of those classes or elements, said Macdowell, if we may call them so, metre (dance) and melody (tune) brought their power ; to declamation, metre brought its potent vitality, and to the dance, melody added its soft charm and lulling rhyme. So, these are the two ways of looking at the primitive music : one, as impassioned speech, the nearest psychologically complete utterance of emotion known to man, and the other, as the dance, comprising as it does all that appeals to our nature. Nature exists with its exquisite beauty and grandeur, while simple hearted primitive man lives in it to enjoy it and also to conquer it. It is the strain of Nature in primitive man that gave him the dance and vocal music, and it is his godlike fight against Nature that gave him impassioned speech, beauty of form and motion on one side, and all that is divine in him on the other. The conception of an ordainer of the universe was already present in him. The universe around him, the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and the ordered system of Nature created within him a great wonder and unbounded joy. He had realized the utility of a greater power, and, therefore, amid joys and sorrows, the hope of peace and solace led him utter the inmost converse of his heart to the world-ordainer. The language of his songs was meaningful and sincere. At first he used to sing and dance for his material prosperity. With the dawn of civilization his intellect and understanding became shining and acute, and his outlook was changed and, consequently, his motive of offering music. His music was gradually enriched with more notes, grace and emotion. The monotonous *ārcika* type of music, containing only one note, was replaced by the *gāthika* type, possessed of two notes. Afterwards a new type of *sāmika* music, with three notes, evolved out of the remains of the *gāthika*. Gradually for the growing taste and temperament of the more civilised Vedic people, the *sāmika* was replaced by the *svarāntara* type of music, possessed

of four notes. Music with five notes, *auḍav* type of music, then evolved and it was again replaced by the *ṣāḍava* type of music, possessed of six notes. Upon the skeleton of the *ṣāḍava* type of music, the music with seven notes, *sampūrṇa* type at last flowered into full sweep and beauty.

A review of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Saṁhitās* and *Āraṇyakas* literature shows simplicity in form and in the presentation of music of early days. Music consisted of recitative hymns or *stotras*, songs, prayers and lays in the early stage. With the progress of civilization and human intellect, the cultural sphere was lit up with a 'heavenly' glow. The conception of various deities and gods came into being and man paid his homage to them in words and tunes.

The sun-worship was prevalent in the remote antiquity. The sky (*ākāśa*) was conceived as *Varuṇa-devatā* in the early Vedic society, and the sun was believed to be the *Mitra* or *Mithra*, the friend of the universe. Again the sun and the sky were known as the twin god, *Mitrā-Varuṇa*. The sky was often looked upon as the ocean of milk or *kṣiroda-samudra*, and the sun as the celestial god. The fire-worship gradually evolved as the proto-type (*pratinidhi*) of the sun-worship, and fire was regarded as the sacred symbol of the sun, nay, the god of the nether world. Different rites and sacrifices (*satra* and *yajña*) also evolved. The butter was poured into the sacrificial fire as sacred offering and it was believed that the gods and deities received their oblations through the medium of the flames of the sacrificial fire. They thought that the flames were no other than the tongues of the gods : '*viṣṇu-jihvā*'. The Viṣṇu was the representative of the sun as well as of the fire. In the mytho-historical literature, *Devī Sarasvatī*, the presiding deity of learning and all arts, was described as the tongue of the sacrificial fire—'*agni-jihvā Sarasvatī*'. Along with sacrificial offerings—lays and songs were sung in rhythm, and music was considered as part and parcel of the rites and sacrifices. The songs were accompanied by various musical instruments, and the cadences of dancing added to the serenity and beauty of music.

Basic Source of Indian Music

The ancient authors on music conceived and deified the primal sound, *Nāda*, as a symbol of the goddess *Sarasvatī*, nay they personified the unmanifested causal sound (*anāhata-Nāda*) as *Sarasvatī* with a dynamic spirit and eternal energy. They said that the manifested musical sound (*āhata-Nāda*) is surcharged with that divine energy and soothes the aching hearts of worldly men and animals with its manifold manifestations of notes, seminotes, colours, pitches, graces, harmony and melody.

Goddess *Sarasvatī* has been conceived as an incarnation and the presiding deity of fine arts : music, painting and sculptures, nay of all learning or *vidyā*. In the Vedic literature, we find that the goddess has been mentioned in different forms and names. Sometimes she has been called the blazing fire, or the glowing ray of the sun, as the *vajra* ('*Sarasvatī tad-dvitīyaṃ vajra-rūpaṃ*'), or the river, etc. In fact, the goddess *Sarasvatī* is a Vedic deity and her worship was prevalent in the Vedic society. In the Ṛgveda, we find that the minor sacrifices were known as *prayāja*. Eleven *prayājas* were used in the animal sacrifices (*paśu-yāga*) and those eleven *prayājas* were dedicated to eleven deities. The *mantras*, which were chanted in the names of those gods, were known as the *āpri-mantras*, and those eleven gods were also designated as *Āpri-devatās* and their names were : *Iḍā*, *tvaṣṭā*, triat gods (*Iḍā*, *Bhāratī*, *Sarasvatī*), *Usasanakta*, *Tanu-napāt*, *Daivya-hotāra*, *Nārasaṁśa*, *Valih*, *Vanaspati* and *Svāhākṛti*. The 110th *sūtra* of 10th *maṇḍala* of the Ṛgveda was known as the *āpri-sūkta* and its eighth *Ṛk* or stanza was known by the three deities, *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī* and *Sarasvatī*. The *Ṛk*-verse runs thus :

Āh no yajñaṃ bhāratī tūyame-
tvilā manṣvadiha chetayantī /
Tisro devīrvahiredaṃ syonaṃ
Sarasvatī svapasaḥ sadaṃ tu //

Iḍā and *Bhāratī* were the constant companions of *Sarasvatī*.

Besides the *Sarasvatī-sūkta*, they were mentioned in the hymnal songs (*stuti*) and in forty *mantras* of other *sūktas*. In those hymns, the names of *Iḍā* and *Bhāratī* were associated with *Sarasvatī*. Sāyana mentioned in the commentary on the 1.13.9 *Ṛk* : '*Iḍādisavdābhidheyoḥ vahni-murtayastisraḥ*', i.e. *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī* and *Sarasvatī* were conceived as three blazing flames of fire (*Agni*). In the commentary on the *Ṛk* 1.188.4, Sāyana again mentioned that *Iḍā* was connected with the earth, *Bhāratī* with the sun, and *Sarasvatī* with the sky, and they were considered as *Vācdevī*. Again in the commentary on the *Ṛk* 1.142.9, he connected the three deities with the effulgence of the sun or *Āditya*. In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, they were conceived as *prāṇa*, *apāṇa* and *vyāna*.

In the Ṛgveda (1.142.9), we find also the names of four deities instead of three and they were *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī*, *Mahī* and *Sarasvatī*. In the *Ṛk* 1.13.1, the *Bhāratī* was dropped. Gradually *Iḍā*, *Bhāratī* and *Sarasvatī* were conceived as one and the same, and *Sarasvatī* became predominant with all the qualities of the other two. So we find that *Sarasvatī* is worshipped from the early Vedic period.

Again we find in the Vedic literature that the sacred river, *Sarasvatī* was identified with the goddess. Yāska in his *Nirukta* (II. 23) called *Sarasvatī* a 'river' as well as a 'goddess' : '*Sarasvatī* * * *etasya nadīvad devatāvacca nigamābhāvāḥ*'. Sāyana in his commentary on the *Ṛk* stanza 1.3.12 said that though the word '*saras*' signified 'water' or 'river', yet it meant a 'god' or a 'goddess' : '*dvividha hi sarasvatī vigrahavad devatānadirūpā ca*'. Most of the Western scholars have identified the goddess with water or river. In Vedic India, the river *Sarasvatī* was regarded as sacred like the rivers, *Dvṛṣadvatī*, *Vipāsā*, etc. However in the Ṛgveda we find the references of '*pañchajātaḥ*',—'*pañchajāta vardhayanti*'. It is said that the Ṛṣis, kings and common people used to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, *Sarasvatī*. The '*pañchajātaḥ*' were also known as *pañchajanāḥ*, *pañchajanāyāḥ* and *pañchakṛtayāḥ*. Some are of the opinion that *pañchajāta* or five races were no other than *Gandharva* or the semi-divine people,

Pitṛ or the departed fathers, *Deva* or the gods, *Asura* or uncivilized non-Aryan people and *Rākṣasa* or the demon. Sometimes the name *Niṣāda* is also found. Some say that by the word '*pañchajātaḥ*' five kinds of races or clans were meant and they were *Aṇu*, *Drahyu*, *Puru*, *Turvāsa* and *Yadu* and *Atrī*. *Atrī* was their priest. These races or clans used to pray to *Agni*, *Soma*, *Mitra* (the sun), *Indra* and *Sarasvatī*. The Ṛṣis used to sing their daily prayers to the river, *Sarasvatī*. Gradually the Ṛṣis or the Brāhmiṇs began to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river *Sarasvatī*, invoking *Devī Sarasvatī*, and there we find that the river was identified with the divine goddess.

Further we find an interpretation of the words '*saras*' or '*apaḥ*' i.e. water as the *Soma*, which corresponds to the Moon (*candra*) or *Devī-Gourī*. In the Ṛg-Veda (9.1.6), *Soma* was called as a 'daughter' (*duhitā*) of the sun (*Mitra*). In the Vedic literature, *Sarasvatī* was again conceived as a 'cow' as well as the sacred words (*vācaṃ*) like *svāhākāra*, *vaṣatkāra* and *hantakāra*. We have already mentioned that the goddess was known in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Prātiśākhyas* as *Viṣṇu*, *Iḍā*, *Ilā*, *Tvaṣṭā*, *Bhāratī*, *Tanunpāt*, *Vanaspati*, *Jyoti*, etc. Yāska identified *Iḍā* or *Ilā* with the sacred fire or *Agni*, the terrestrial Sun. The Hindus, Buddhists and Jains generally recognize the goddess *Sarasvatī* as '*Vāc-devī*', '*Vāgeśvarī*', '*Vidyādharī*', '*Bhadra-kālī*', '*Vidyā*' and '*Sāradā*'. The Buddhist Mahāyāni sects conceive the goddess as a divine force or 'Śakti', an emanation of *Mañjuśrī*, the masculine god of knowledge who destroys all the evil forms (ignorance) or '*avidyā*' and doubts or *saṁśaya* with his sword (*kṛpāṇa*). Prof. O. C. Gangoly thinks that with the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China and Japan, the Indian *Sarasvatī* was identified with the Japanese goddess, Benten, who like the Indian prototype, carries in her hand a lute (*Veeṇā*). Her full name in Japan is Dal-leen-zai-ten or the 'Greek Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty'. This seems to recall the close association of *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī* in Indian mythology. In earlier times, *Devī Sarasvatī* used to be worshipped in the name of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* on *Śrī-Pañchamī* day. Gradually the idea of *Śrī*,

the goddess of luck and prosperity, was separated from the idea of *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning and knowledge.

However, the conception of the goddess *Sarasvatī* is a beautiful one in the Hindu literature. The seers of truth made her an embodiment of all-existence, all-intelligence, all-bliss (*saccidānandamayī*). She has been imagined as the fountain-head of divine potential energy that animates all beings and permeates all becomings of the world.

There runs an allusion in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (VII 2.4. 1-7), from which we know that music is in itself *Devī Sarasvatī*, or it can be said, music has originated from the goddess. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* says that Viśvāvasu, a Gandharva, stole *Soma* from *Gāyatrī*. *Gāyatrī* is the Vedic metre like *Vṛhati*, *Jagati* etc. and represents the sun. Gandharva Viśvāvasu is known as a renowned author on music. When the *Devas* came to know of the theft of *Soma* by Gandharva, Viśvāvasu, they sent the beautiful virgin *Vāc* or *Vācdevī* to rescue *Soma*, the nectar. The Gandharvas, it is said, were fond of women and beauty. When *Vācdevī* approached the Gandharvas, they were charmed with her divine and exquisite beauty and grace. They came to goddess and said : 'Let yours be the *Soma* and let *Vāc* or *Vācdevī* be ours'. This *Vāc* is *Devī Sarasvatī*. Here *Devī* and the art of music have been identified. Afterwards *Devī* was conceived as the presiding deity of all arts, and the musicolo- gists called her the unmanifested causal sound, *Nāda*. The Gandharvas got *Devī* in their possession so they excelled all others in music. Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmī related this story in a very beautiful way. He said : 'Similarly but more briefly in the *Taittītriya-Saṃhitā*, VI. 1.6.5.6, where also the Gandharvas who utter incantations, are contrasted with the (mundane) deities who merely 'sing', and Vāc follows the latter, but is restored to the former as the price of *Soma*. The mun- dane deities are, of course, the immanent Breaths, the powers of the soul ; it is only when they restore the Voice to the Sacer- dotium that they are enabled to partake of the Water of Life ; as in RV. X. 109.5-7, where the (mundane) deities, restoring

his wife (i.e., Vāc) to Bṛhaspati, obtain the *Soma* in exchange, and are made free of their original sin'.[1]

Now from the allusion of *Soma*-juice and the Gandharvas, we get a very important clue to music. The Gandharvas were the semi-divine people of the north-western province of India. Some are of the opinion that they had a special system of music, and their scale of music was known as the *gāndhāra-grāma*. It is said that they made a special and most important contribution to Indian music, and for this reason the ancient authors of music designated the art of the *laukika* music as '*gāndharvaṃ*' or '*gāndharva-vidyā*', to commemorate the valuable gift of the semi-divine Gandharvas. Bharata said in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that as music was composed of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*, used to be practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, it was known as *gāndharvaṃ*. This type was known also as *mārga*, as it followed the sacred path i.e., laws and principles of the Vedic music.

Music in Vedic Time

We have seen that primitive type of music was gradually replaced by the newly moulded ones. The Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, evolved through the medium of songs and singing processes of the chanters and singers, and their laws, materials and processes were contained in the three main song-books, *grāmegeya-gāna*, *araṇyegeya-gāna* and *ūha* and *ūhya gānas*. These three Vedic song-books were really composed of three kinds of *Ṛks* or collections of verses, and those *Ṛks* were : *Pūrvārcika*, *Āraṇyaka-Saṁhitā* and *Uttarārcika*. The verses were the source or womb (*yoni*) of the songs. The uses of the *Pūrvārcika* were divided into three parts, and they were dedicated to three gods or presiding deities, *Agni*, *Indra* and *Soma-Pavamāna*. The *gānas*, *grāmegeya* and *araṇyegeya* existed side by side in the Vedic society and were regarded as the Vedic *gānas*. The only difference between them was : the former was sung publicly by all communities of people, whereas the latter was meant for the mystic chanters

1. Vide *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (1956), p. 141.

or singers of the sacred forests, and they were religious and spiritual. The *gānas*, *ūha* and *ūhya*, were also sung in the Vedic sacrifices by the side of the *gānas*, *grāmegeya* and *araṇyegeya*. The *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* states that the notes of the *ūha* and *ūhya-gānas* were similar to those of the *yonigāna* or *veyagāna*.

In the Vedic time. the culture of art of music was developed and was more satisfactory. The *sāmagāna* formed a special feature of the culture of music of that time. The *sāmagāna* was of various types with different numbers of tone in different Vedic recensions (*śākhās*), and they had different methods of rendering. Usually three, four or five notes were used in the *sāmagānas*, but, in the Kauthuma recension (*śākhā*), the *sāmagāna* was presented with seven Vedic notes. The Vedic notes were in downward movement (*avarohaṇa-kromena*), whereas the modern classical notes are used in the upward movement (*ārohaṇa-kromena*). The Vedic notes of the *sāmagāna* were used in three registers (*sthānas*) like bass (*mandra*), circumflex or medium (*madhya*) and high or acute (*tāra*). The correct intonation of the words (*sāhitya*) as well as of tones (*svara*) were strictly observed. So it should be admitted that the Vedic song *sāmagāna* was very systematic. Different *sāmagānas* were sung (not only chanted) in sacred occasions of the sacrifices (*yajñas*) and rites (*satras*) to please the gods, priests, and the public. The *sāmagāna* supplied the materials of music of the later classical period, and this fact has been figuratively mentioned by the authors of the musical treatises. Bharata of the *Nātyaśāstra* said that Pitāmaha Brahmā (*Druhina*) collected the materials of music from the four Vedas, and made the structure of the new type of music, *gāndharva*.

In the Ṛgveda, we find the mention of *gāna* and *gāthā* : (a) *sāma gyā manam* (1.81.5), *gāyatram gyā manam* (1.2.14), *stoma so gyā manaso* (6.69.2) etc. These are the forms of the ancient process of *stoma* i.e. *stotra* or *stabagāna*. In *Rikmantra*, 8.81.5, Sāyana used the word *vāk* instead of *gāthā* (Rik 8.32.1). In the Ṛks 1.167.6, 9.11.8, Sāyana used *gātavyaṃ*, *stutirūpaṃ vācham* and stutya to explain the meanings or significances of

gāyat gāthāṃ, somāya gāthāṃ tai and *gāthāyā purānyavynnashata.* Now we find that the meaning of *gāthā* is *gīyate iti gāthā* i.e. that which is sung, or is suitable for singing, is *gāthā.*

Sometimes *gāna* was used in the sense of prayerful *stuti,* or chanting in praise of some deities. In the Atharvaveda, we find both the words, *gāna* and *stotra,* which were used for singing. Sometimes we find the word *udgāyati* for *prastauti,* and there *gāna* was meant the *stotra.* However, from many Ṛk-stanzas it is proved that the Vedic people used to sing and also recite the *mantras* for sacrificial and other purposes.

In the *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad* (1.3-12 cantos), the method of singing of the *sāmans* has been described. There we find the process of *udgānas, svaras,* and different kinds of *sāman.* Omkara played the role of the vital force (*prāṇa*) of the *udgānas.* The *Upaniṣad* says : *Omityetadaksaramudgīthamupāsita* (1.1) i.e. concentrate and meditate upon the universal basic letter of sound, OM taking it as *udgītha,* because *purushasya vāk rasaḥ, vācha rik rasaḥ, richa sāma rasaḥ, sāmnā udgītho rasaḥ.* Further it says : "*Yaḥ praṇavaḥ sa udgītha iti*". *Rasa* connotes the idea of extract or essence as well as the base (*adhisthāna*). The *Upaniṣad* says that *udgītha* can be divided as *ud-gi-tha* i.e. *ud* is the vital air or *prāṇa, gih* or *gir* is letter or word or *vāc,* and *tha* is *annaṃ* or cause or source. Therefore *prāṇa* (vital air), *vāc* (speech or word) and *anna* (cause) are known as *udgītha,* the *sāman.*

Now, what is *sāma* or *sāman ? Sā* and *am*=*sama,* and the word *sā* means vital air or *prāṇa* and the word *aṃ* is fire or energy or *agni.* The *sāma* has been conceived in different ways. The *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad* states that *sāma* or *sāman* is known as the medium, through which songs (*gānas*) in praise of gods and and goddesses were accompanied by *veeṇā* which is the most ancient musical instrument of the world. The *Upaniṣad* says : "*tat ya. ise veeṇāyām gāyantye taṃ te gāyanti*". The *samas* or *sāmans* were sung either for material prosperity, or for spiritual accomplishment. Further the *Upaniṣad* says as to what is the aim of (singing of) the *sāman* ? The aim is the notes (*svaras*) : "*Ka sāmno gatiḥ iti. Svara iti hovacha*". Some of the commen-

tators explained the notes (*svaras*) as *niṣada-ṛṣabha-gāndhāra* (Ni-Re-Ga) which are recognised as the formalised local (*laukika*) notes, and this assumption is controversial.

The *stobhas* like *hāhā*, *hau*, *haikāra*, *atha*, etc. were used in ancient time in the singing of the *sāmans*, and those *stobhas* were differently conceived as *loka* (region), *vāyu* (air), *chandra* (moon), *Ātman* and fire (*Agni*). In fact, *stobhas* were used to intensify the forms and forces of the *sāmans* i.e. singing of the *sāmans*. The *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad* has also mentioned about different kinds of notes or tones to be used in the *sāmagānas*. The *Upaniṣad* states : "*vinardi sāmno vṛṇe pashavyamityagneḥ udgīthaḥ aniruktaḥ prajāpateḥ, niraktaḥ sāmasya, mṛdu ślakṣṇaṃ vāyoḥ, ślakṣṇaṃ vāyoḥ, ślakṣṇaṃ valavādin udriyasya, kraucham vṛhaspatiḥ, apadhvāntaṃ varuṇasya* * * *". These notes or tones also are the *udgīthas*, and these are presided by some deities. *Anirukta*, *nirukta*, *mṛdu*, *ślakṣṇa*, *krauñcha*, etc. are the types of notes. The notes are divided into two, *svara* and *vyañjana*. These are the *varṇas* or letters which form the sentences and stanzas. The *Upaniṣad* says that the *svara-varṇas* are known as *ghoshavān* i.e. forcible. The *svara-varṇas* create force and æsthetic beauty, and these are known as *prāṇa* or vital force or energy. 'Now-a-days, as we use the *svara-varṇas* for creating force in the *padas* and *gānas*, so these were used in the Vedic and post-Vedic times in the *sāman*-singing.

Regarding Vedic songs, Prof. A. Hillebrandt was of the opinion : "We are indebted for the Vedic songs and prose (chant) to the poets and Riṣis of ancient India, who composed their hymns for the solemn sacrifices of the kings and nobles of the time, and also for the praise of the gods, worshipped by the patrons. * * * The priests and kings were not strangers to the people ; they stood above, but not outside their objects, and we may fairly assume that the hymns did reflect the opinions, not only of the higher, but also of the lower classes, and the popular traditions of the different ages".[2] Prof. Hillebrandt

2. Vide *Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Vol. II (1900), p. 11.

means to say that the Vedic religion along with the sacrifices and hymns were meant not only for upper classes, but also for lower classes of people of the then society.

Dr. A. B. Keith also elaborately discussed about religion, Vedic sacrifices and hymns in his monumental volumes of (1) *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Vols. I & II, (2) *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Vols. I & II, (3) *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas : Aitareya and Kausitaki* (of the Ṛgveda) which were published in the Harvard Oriental Series. Dr. Martin Haug also dealt with the process of the *sāmagāna* in his book, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇam of the Ṛgveda* (Bombay 1863). Dr. Caland beautifully discussed about the materials of Vedic sacrifice and *sāmagānas* in the English translation of the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*. Rāmendra Sunder Trivedi also discussed about the *sāmagāna* in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (Bengali) and the *Yajñakathā* (Bengali). While discussing the Vedic Mahāvrata, Dr. Keith strongly supported the view of Prof. Hillebrandt, and said that the Vedic Mahāvrata rite used to be performed on the second last day of the Gavamayana-sattra, a yearly-long rite. The Mahāvrata rite ocurred in the winter solstice. The Vedic literature say that different kinds of sacrifices (*yajñas*) and rites (*satras*) used to be performed in the Vedic time, and different kinds of *sāmans* were used in them. The *Sāṅkhyāyana-Srauta-sūtra* (XI. 13) attributes to the Mahāvrata three *sāmans*, *vṛhat*, *mahādivakṛtya* and *rathantara*. Prof. Hillebrandt said that on the whole, though by no means universally, the *vṛhat* is made up of hymns and verses to Sūrya (the sun) and the *mahādivakṛtya*, to Indra. "Now the prayer (of songs) to Sūrya (the sun) are most naturally connected with the efforts required at the winter solstice, to rescue the sun from destruction and death, while Indra's season in the breaking of the monsoon about the summer solstice, when he overcomes Vṛtra, the demon of drought, and, as the *Aitareya-Araṇyaka* (1.1.1) has it waxed great".

Dr. Keith said that in connection with the Vedic and pre-Vedic sacrifices and sacred rites and singing of different

kinds of *sāman* musical instruments like drum and lute were used. Dr. Keith further said that various musical instruments used to be played by the priests and wives of the priests. The presence and activities of the maidens were essential during the singing of the *sāmans*. He wrote : "Maidens with water-pitchers, dance round a fire singing—in one version—'The cows smell pleasingly : here is sweet drink'. The cows smell with sweet odours—sweet drink ! The cows are mothers of butter—sweet drink ! May they increase amongst us—sweet drink ! The cows we would here bathe—sweet drink ! As they (maidens) dance, they strike their right thighs with their right hands, or, according to Hiraṇyakeśi, beat the ground with their dance, i.e. *pradakṣiṇaṃ*, following the sun's motion. Finally they (the wives of the priests) cast the contents of their pitchers into the *mārjāliya* fire." Dr. Caland also mentioned this fact in the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*. This kind of function is still prevalent among the primitive races like Orāons and Mundās of Bengal. They perform this function along with dance and song around the Karma tree, and Dr. Frazer also mentioned this kind of dance and song in his monumental book, *Adonis, Attis and Ossiris* (p. 198).

Dr. Keith said that the solemn dances (with Vedic songs) of the maidens round the sacrificial fire in the Vedic time were a substitute for the less formal leap over the fire and left little doubt that in the Mahāvrata we have no priestly transfer to another season of a midsummer rite, but a genuine adoptation in the Brāhmaṇical ritual of a midwinter rite essentially popular.[3]

Now it can be mentioned that there were different kinds of *śāstra* to be used in the Vedic and pre-Vedic sacrifices. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* has recorded different processes of Vedic singing. The *sāman*-singers used to repeat the verses numbers and to keep the signs by small sticks cut from the wood of

3. Vide *the Vedic Mahāvrata* in the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. II (Paris, 1900), pp. 49-58.

the Udumbara tree, the trunk of which to be placed behind the seat of the Udgatris.

We have already mentioned about two kinds of principal *sāmans* in the Vedic rites, which were '*vṛhat*' and *rathantara*. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* states that these two *sāmans* were known as the two boats of the sacrifice, landing it on the other shore in the celestial world. It is said that by means of them the performers of the sacrifices used to cross the year (just as one crosses a river). The *vṛhat* and *rathantara sāmans* were possessed of two feet (of the sacrifice), the performance of the day was the head. By means of the two feet men used to gain their fortune. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* has given the vivid descriptions of the *sāmans* which were sung before the altar of the fire to invoke and at the same time to please the presiding deities of the sacrificial fires. The singing of the *sāmans* were essential, and from these *sāmans* evolved the forms and method of songs and singing i.e. music in later days.

Soma-Plants

As *sāmagāna* was essential in the Vedic sacrifices, so was the Soma-plant (*somalatā*). The Soma-plants were available from the Soma-buyers who assembled near the *Yajñaśālā*. We find in the Vedic literature that Soma-plants or Soma-creepers were used in the sacrifices. The juice of the Soma-creepers were extracted so as to pour it or to offer it to the blazing tongues of the sacrificial fire. It was believed that the presiding deities of the fires used to take the offerings of Soma-juice and butter through the medium of the tongues of the fire of the sacred altar. At that time *sāmans* with different notes and measures were sung, *richs* were chanted with tones and tunes.

Many of the scholars of both the East and the West hold the opinion that juice was prepared after pasting the Soma-creepers which grew in the jungle areas of the mountains. The Soma-juice was bitter and intoxicated, and the priests used to take the juice for vigour and energy. MM. A. Chinnaswāmī

Śāstrī recently subscribed an article on the *Soma-Plant*, in which he said that Vedic sacrifices originated from the conception that man should share his food with the gods he worshipped. "Of the three forms of Vedic sacrifice, namely *Havir-yajña*, *Paśu-yajña* and *Soma-yajña*, the last one is the most important and of the greatest antiquity. The Vedas hold that a Traivarnika cannot fully repay his debts to the gods without performing a *Soma-yajña*". Sabaraswāmin has described in commentary on the *Mimārsādarśana* that Soma as a plant was full of milky juice, and it was sweet and nourishing. Many of the scholars have compared Soma with the moon. But this comparison does not hold good from the historical viewpoint. The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* says that the Soma-plant was available in abundance in Mount Munjarat, near Mount Kailash. But, according to the Vedic version, Soma was supposed to have been brought from heaven (*svarga*) by Devī Gāyatrī. In spite of the difficulty in obtaining the said plant, it was ordained that every Traivarnika should perform *Soma-yajña*. It is said that Soma-yajña used to be performed in the banks of the Godāvarī, Krishnā, Kāverī and Tāmpraparni. "For this" said Śāśtrī, "the original Soma-plant is not available and another plant called Putika is used as a substitute. It has to be kept for three days with water sprinkled on it every morning and evening. On the morning of the fourth day the juice is extracted and stored in vessels called Graha and Chamasa. Amidst the chanting of the hymns of the Rig and Sāma Vedas, the juice is poured into the sacred fire, and whatever is left over, is consumed by the sacrificer."

Now to conclude, it can be said that the Vedic Soma-juice was neither stimulant, nor intoxicant, but, on the other hand, the Vedas attribute some good qualities to it. MM. Śāśtrī said that Soma-juice, in the Vedic time, contributed to mental peace and increased vigour. It kept the brain cool, offered instigation for work, helped endurance, assured longivity and prevented old age. In the entire Vedic texts, we find that only in two sacrifices namely, Vājapeya and Santrāmani, the

use of the wine is mentioned. Given in these cases the drinking of the remnants by the sacrificer has not been ordained. However, a close study of the *Smrities* and *Purāṇas* leads us to the conclusion that word *nāda* used in the Vedic hymns to denote the Soma-juice which means happiness and joy, and not intoxication. Rather Soma is known in the Vedic literature as Amṛta (nector), and throughout the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the word Soma is used to denote Amṛta. But it is a fact that the *sāman* chants with different tone, and tunes with three registers (*sthāna*) were used to invoke the Vedic gods and to sanctify the sacrifices.

Musical Instruments in Vedic Time

In the Vedic time, there evolved different types of musical instrument like *veeṇā*, *veṇu* or *vaṁśa* and *mṛtaṅga* which accompanied the *sāmans*. Some peculiar type of earthen drums were in use for signaling the time of arriving or attack of the enemies. These drums were known as *bhūmi-dundubhi*, made up of a pit in the earthen ground, covered with the skins of the animals. Gradually *dundubhi* (drum) was made up of the hollow wooden stuff, covered with skin. Besides, there evolved different kinds of drum like *panava*, *puṣkara*, *bhāṇḍa*, etc. In the Vedas and Brāhmaṇa literature, we find that the most ancient drums iike *dundubhi*, *bhūmi-dundubhi*, etc., were in use with the *sāman*-singing, when necessary. The Ṛgveda states : "*jayatimiva dundubhiḥ*" (1.285), "*sa dundubhiḥ apasedha shatrun*" (6.47-49), while explaining "*app protha dundubhi*" (6.47.30). Sāyana addressed the *dundubhi* to kill the enemy—'*vadhasva*'. The *dundubhis* were also used to call men when lived in distant places "*Ketu mada dundubhih vavaditi*" (1.47.31). Sometimes victory used to be announced by the grave and majestic sounds of the *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi*. In the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (1.5.9.30), we find the mention of "*dundubhin samaghāiti*" or "*bhūmi-dundubhin aghauti*" (1.5.9.30).

It has already been said that *dundubhi* (drum) was afterwards made up of a hollow trunk of a tree, which was covered with the rough skin of the animals. The *bhūmi-dundubhi* was made out of the *bhūmi* or earthen ground, covered with skin. It can be asked as to when those rude drums evolved, or were created ? Now, when we study the music-materials of the primitive time, we find that the uncultured savage nations of the most antique days used to sing and dance to please themselves after retiring from their works. The songs and dances of the primitive peoples were very simple and monotonous, and the drums like *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi* were also in use to keep the rhythms and beats of songs and dances. In the prehistoric time, we also find some remnants of crude drums and whistles of bone. It is most probable that the use of the drums, *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi* etc. were revived. Besides the drums, many musical instruments of *veeṇā* and *veṇu* classes were devised to suit the purpose of singing and dancing in the developed Vedic time. We also find that like the primitive days, *bhūmi-dundubhi* and *dundubhi* drums were struck with the rough wooden club, so as to produce grave and deep sounds. In the Vedic literature, we find the descriptions of those drums. Regarding *bhūmi-dundubhi*, the commentator Bhatta-bhāskara said : "*charmanācchādita-mukhaṃ bhūgartaṃ*", which clearly describes the method of construction of the drum in the ground. In the *Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā*, we find the same description of *bhūmi-dundubhi*.

Besides, we find the description of the musical instruments like *vaṇaspati* : "*vaṇaspatayo vimuchadhvaṃ*" (—*Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā*, 9.12). It seems that *vaṇaspati* was constructed out of a hollow trunk of a tree covered with skin. The *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* says that *vāk* entered into the wooden instrument, *vaṇaspati*, to declare or proclaim something : "*sa vaṇaspatin preti*" (6.1.25). The *vāk* means sound, and sound, accompanied by some news, good or bad, came out from the *dundubhi*, *veeṇā* or *tunabha* : "*vāk vaṇaspatiṣu vadati ya dundubhi ya tunabhe cha veeṇāyāṃ*". (T.S. 6.1.25). In the *Kaṭhaka-Saṁhitā* (3.4.5), the demons and

the evil spirits were driven out by the sound of the *vanaspati* : "*ya vanaspatiṣu vāk tan tena varunajate*". The *Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā* (30.10.19) has used the word *adambara* : "*śabdaya adamvara-gataṃ*". *Adambara* is a musical instrument made up of *udumbara* wood. In the same *Saṁhitā* (8.69.9), the instrument *gargara* mentioned : "*ava svarati gargareḥ*". The *gargara* was known as a musical instrument to be used in war, and was sometimes known as *raṇa-bheri* or war-trumpet. Regarding *gargara*, the commentator Sāyana said : "*gargaro gargara-dhvani-yukto vādhya-viśeṣaḥ*".

In the *Saṁhitās*, we find another musical instrument of the Vedic time, which is known as *nāḍi* and *piṅga* : "*piṅga parichaniskadat*". In the Ṛgveda (2.43.3), another musical instrument, called *karkari*, has been mentioned : "*yadutpatan vadasi karakaraḥ yathā*". Sāyana admitted *karkara* or *karkari* as a musical instrument which was in use in the Vedic society. But from the reference of the Yajurveda 4.35.5 : "*āghātah karkarayā saṁvadanti*", we know that *karkari* was known as clasping of the hands i.e. the sound produced by the clasping of the two hands, and this sound used to help the rhythm (*tāla*) of dance and music. In the Ṛgveda, we find also the mention of *karkari*. In some of the sacrificial functions and especially in the *Sīmantonnayana* ceremony, the unmarried maidens used to dance along with songs, keeping *tāla* by clasping of the hands, and they used to dance in a circle around the blazing sacrificial fire so as to please the presiding deities.

In the commentary of the Ṛk-mantra 10.146.2, Sāyana mentioned the names of some musical instruments of the Vedic time, which are *āghāta*, *ghātalikā* and *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*. The instrument *nāḍī* is found in the Ṛgveda (10.135.7) : "*dhamyate nāḍī*". *Nāḍī* is a kind of flute (or harplike *veeṇā*). "*nāḍī tunabha vadanti*" (Ṛk. 10.35.5). Similarly the name of the hundred stringed *veeṇā*, *vāṇa*, is mentioned in the Ṛgveda (1.85.10) : "*dhamanto vānaṃ maruta*". Sāyana said : "*maruto vāṇaṃ śata-saṁkhyābhiḥ yuktaṃ veeṇā-viśeṣaṃ dhamantaḥ vādayantaḥ*". The strings (hundred) were made of grass (*muñjā*). In the Brāhmaṇa

period, *kātyāyana-veeṇā* was constructed on the design of the Vedic *vāṇa*. It is said that Muni Kātyāyana devised the *kātyānī-veeṇā*. It is also said that the seven tones (*svaras*) were used in both the *veeṇā*, *vāṇa* and *kātyāyanī* : "*vāṇasya sapta dhātu vijajuaḥ* (Ṛk. 10.32.4). Sāyana said : "*sapta chhandasi ritavo vā*". Sāyana meant *chhanda* by the word *dhātu*. Some are of the opinion that the word *dhātu* means notes or tones (*svaras*). Sāyana said that seven tones were used in the *kāṇḍa-veeṇā* : "*taviḥ dhāvayan nisādādi-sapta-svaraṃ śodhayan gāyakadi vā*". We think that the view or comment of Sāyana should carefully be examined to ascertain the real meaning, because the *laukika* tones, *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhara* etc. evolved from the register-tones (*sthāna-svaras*), *anudātta*, *svarita* and *udātta* in the post-Vedic age, and the post-Vedic tones *prathama*, etc. were quite different from the Vedic tones in their respective nature, movements and tonalities and it seems that Sāyana mistook the *laukika* tones as the *vaidika* ones. In the *Aitareya-Saṁhitā* (5.1.5), we find that the wives of the performers of the sacrifices (Yājñikas) used to pluck the wires of the *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*, and one of the Princes struck the earthen drum (*bhūmi-dundubhi*) and all the singers sang the *sāmans* in unison : "*anekena sāmnā stavate*" (5.15). Besides, in the Vedic literature, we find the names of many other musical instruments which were used in the Vedic time.

Notes and Scales of Vedic Music

We have already discussed that 'Vedic Music' is meant the music of the Sāmeveda, which is *sāmagāna*, that evolved out of the *riks* or *rik*-stanzas. The verses of the Ṛkveda were set to tunes and thus music evolved with a new form. Now, what is '*sāma*' ? Sāyana said in the commentary on the Yajurveda : 'पादश्च गीतिः। * * हाउ इत्यादिकं साम यजुर्वेदे गीतम्। * * पादेनार्धर्चेनोपेता वृत्तवद्धा मन्त्राः ऋचः। गीतिरूपा मन्त्राः सामानि'। He also described many of the *sāmas* or *sāmans* like *rathantara*, *vṛhat*, *vairūpa*, *raivata*, etc. Kātyāyana said : 'ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि निगदा मन्त्राः' (१।४५)।

Āchārya Karka made explicit the meaning of the '*sāma*' or *sāman*, when he says : 'प्रगीतं मन्त्रवाक्यं सामेत्युच्यते । * * अतः पूर्वप्रगीतत्वाद्-गीतिरेव सामशब्देनाभिलक्ष्यते'। In the Sāmic period, the *ṛcs* or stanzas were sung and chanted either with three register or base notes, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*. The register or base notes, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*, or grave or bass, circumflex or medium, and high or acute were used as the accent-tones for the speech-music or recitation only. The *sāman* notes, *prathama*, etc. were quite distinct from them in their characteristic and tonal value. The authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* said that the *sāmans* were the combination of *vāc* and *prāṇa*,—speech and vital air, which have been conceived as *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in the Indian philosophy.

In the process of evolution of both the Vedic base notes or accent tones and the *sāman* tones, several strata are discernible. After the evolution of the five *sāman* notes, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *chaturtha*, and *mandra*, the octave i.e. *saptaka* was completed with addition of the lower sixth, *atisvārya*, and the upper seventh, *kruṣta*. Besides the principal notes, *prathama*, etc., there were some optional or secondary notes, such as, *jātya* or independent, *abhinihita* or absorbed, *kṣipra* or hastened, *praśliṣta* or constructed, etc. The principal notes were called the *prakṛti* ones, while the optional or secondary notes the *vikṛti* ones.[4] The *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* further prescribes seven varieties of sound-tones for the *sāmagāna*. They are *upāṅśu* or inaudible, *dhvani* or murmur, *nimada* or whisper, *upamidamat* or numbling, mandra or soft, *madhya* or middle, *tāra* or loud.

4. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī is of the opinion that it appears extremely probable that the notes of the Sāmaveda are all *prakriti svaras*, but with the *shrutis* constituting each *svara* or note arranged in a descending order so that the lowest *śruti* of each note become the dominant *śruti* of that note. Considered in this light, it will be found, if we take into account the composition of *prakriti svaras* that the lowest *śruti* of each *svara* is the highest one or very nearly that, of each of the notes of *Kharaharapriyā* or *Kāfi*.—*The Science of Music* (Tānjore, 1954), pp. 71-72.

The primitive songs were monotonous and recitative in nature, but gradually they were developed into music proper, with the development and growth of intellect and creative faculty of men in the society. Mainly three transitional phases are found in the evolution of songs of yore. They are : (a) speech, (b) speech-music or recitation, and (c) song proper. The Vedic music was a developed and systematic one, and it possessed some rhythmic process and harmonic relation between the notes. The *sāmans* were sung in a descending order, and it may be said that it was the characteristic of the songs of the ancient nations of the world. The ancient Greek scale was in a descending order (*avarohana-gati*) like F E D C B A G. The *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa* states : 'क्रष्टादह: उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति'। M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār advanced six reasons in its favour. They are : (a) य: सामगानां प्रथम: स वेनोर्मध्यम: स्वर: etc., as advocated by Nārada in the *Śikṣā*, in the first century A.D., (b) क्रुष्टादय: उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति, as advocated by the *Sāmatantra*, (c) तेषां दीप्ति-जोपलब्धि:, as stated by the *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, XXIII. 14, (d) The fact that in vocal music, the telling notes are necessarily high, (e) The fact that the *sāmagāna* is sung even today in a descending order, (f) The very nature of a seed is to sprout forth first, downward, and then, upward. Now, the pitches or tone-qualities of the notes of the *sāmagāna* were realised by their respective '*dīptiḥ*' or 'gradual lightening up', which means the gradual sharpening or hightening. They are known as '*yamas*' or regulators. Śaunaka said in the *Ṛk-prātiśākya* : सप्त स्वरा ये यमास्ते। The term '*yama*' connotes the idea of 'controlling', 'collecting', or 'binding together'. This term was adopted by Patañjali (150 B.C) in his *Yogasūtra* (1.2.29), for controlling the senses, in order to prepare the ground for the attainment of perfect balance of mind as well as apprehension of the Divine intuition by an aspirant. Śaunaka adopted it in the *sāman* songs for controlling or bringing balance in the tunes or sweet sound-vibrations of the *sāmagāna*, and as the notes control or conduct the tunes of the *sāmans*, they are known as '*yama*'.

The *yamas* are seven in number, and all the annotators and

commentators, including Śaunaka, Nārada, Uvata and Sāyana have admitted these seven *yamas* or *sāman* notes. The seven notes were *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *chaturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvārya*. Both Gārga Gopālayajjva and Prof. Whitney considered the *tṛtīya* or the third as the medium, and the upper seventh, first, and second notes as higher or sharper in gradation, i.e. *utkṣipta*, *utkṣiptatara* and *utkṣiptatama*, or sharp, sharper and sharpest, and the lower fourth, fifth and sixth notes as lesser or lower in gradation, i.e. *avakṣipta*, *avakṣiptatara*, and *avakṣiptatama*, or low, lower, and lowest. This process of gradual sharpening (*dīpti*) goes a long way to prove that the singers of the Vedic music used seven notes in their *sāmagāna*, though commonly three, four or five notes were used in most of the *sāmans*. The *Puspasūtra* also admits this fact, when it states,

एतैर्भावैस्तु गायन्ति सर्वाः शाखाः पृथक्-पृथक्।
पञ्चस्वेव तु गायन्ति भूयिष्ठानि स्वरेषु तु ॥
सामानि षट्षु चान्यानि सप्तसु द्वे तु कोथुमाः।

From the above lines it is evident that different recensions (*śākhās*) of the Vedas used different numbers of note. Specially the Kauthuma recension used seven notes in two particular *gānas* : 'सप्तसु स्वरेष द्वे सामानि गीयते कौथुमः शाखिनाम्'। It will thus be seen that the *sāmans* differed from one another in their modes and forms with regard to the use of different notes, and though the *auḍava* or pentatonic form of the *sāmans* were mostly sung by the Vedic singers, yet *ṣāḍava* or hexatonic, and *sampūrṇa* or heptatonic forms of the *sāmans* were prevalent in the Vedic society. The notes of the *sāmans* were surcharged with exalted emotions, sublime sentiments, and mystic moods, which used to create a supra-mundane spiritual atmosphere during singing.

Nārada also described the seven *sāman* notes. He said that they were both in descending and reverse order such as ; ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa. He observed :

य सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः।
यो द्वितीय. स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभः स्मृतः ॥

चतुर्थ षड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत्।
षष्ठे निषादो विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

Nārada here mentioned two kinds of *gānas*, *vaidika* and *laukika*, in the terms of *veeṇā* and *veṇu.* The *veeṇā* (which belongs to the Western lyre class) was a very sacred musical stringed instrument of ancient India, having various forms, and used as a supporting instrument of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*, whereas *veṇu* or *vaṁśa* (flute class of musical wind instrument, made of bamboo, wood or bone) was used as a supporting instrument of the folk as well as formalised *laukika* or *deśi* music. Nārada's contention was that the notes of the *veeṇā* i.e. Vedic music were equivalent to those of the folk and formalised *deśī* music. Nārada also determined five microtonal units like *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *karuṇā*, *mṛdu* and *madyā* for the notes, and they were afterwards recognised as the casual microtones or *jātis* of the twenty-two microtones, as devised by Muni Bharata, in the second century A.D. The notes used to manifest in three registers, and they possessed ten qualities like *sukumāra*, *lāvaṇya*, etc. (गानस्य तु दशविधा गुणवृत्तिः). Though Nārada determines those microtonal units, registers and ten qualities for the *laukika* notes, yet they might be used also in the equivalent Vedic notes.

Regarding the reverse order or *vakra-gati* mode of the *sāman* notes, some scholars differ in their opinions. Paṇḍit Lakṣmaṇa Śaṅkara Bhatta-Drāviḍa favoured the straight descending process, instead of the crooked one or *vakra-gati* scale, which is ma ga ri sa/ṇi ḍha p̥a. But M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār and others favoured *vakra-gati* scale, which, according to them, has the confirmation of Nārada in his another statement : 'प्रादेशिन्यां त गान्धारः ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम्' । Rāmaswāmī Āiyār was of the opinion that Nārada's intentional reversal of the order of '*dha*' and '*ni*' created a new series of notes : 'pa ma ga ri sa dha ni', together with addition of *kruṣta* as the higher note than *prathama*, and the previous inversion of the pitch order of '*dha*', and '*ni*' was also maintained in the new series. And it is also found in most of the available readings of the *Nāradīśikṣā* of various private

collections that the reversal order of the notes of the *sāmans* (ma ga ri sa/ḍha ṇi pḁ) were maintained. But some scholars hold a different view. They say that according to the dictum of the *Triratnabhāṣya* : 'तेषां खलु सप्तयमानाम् उत्तरोत्तर-दीप्तिजा पूर्व-पूर्वोपलब्धिः स्यात्। तत् कथम्; अतिस्वार्य-दीप्तिजा मन्द्रोपलब्धिः, मन्द्रोश्चतुर्थोपलब्धिः, चतुर्थात् तृतीयः, तृतीयात द्वितीयः, द्वितीयात प्रथमः, प्रथमात क्रुष्टः उपलभ्यते', the inverted order 'ma ga ri sa/ḍha ṇi pḁ' should be in the regular one like 'ma ga ri sa/ṇi ḍha pḁ', as we find in the ancient Greek scale, and this regular or uncrooked order has been maintained throughout in the *ślokas* 8 to 14 of the *Māṇḍukī-śikṣā* of the Artharvaveda.

Sāyana devised altogether a different order of the *sāman* notes, in his commentary on the *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa.* He said : 'यो निषादः स क्रुष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमो द्वितीयः, मध्यम-स्तृतीयः, गान्धारश्चतुर्थः, ऋषभो मन्द्रः, षड्जोऽतिस्वार्य इति'। This arrangement of notes seems to be of later origin. It is generally found that the songs (*gānas*) always have their bases in the scales, and that the Sāmavedic scale was constituted out of the arrangements of the notes in different registers like bass, medium and high, and it has already been said that it was in the downward movement (*avarohana-gati*). Some maintained the view that there were two phases in the evolution of the Sāmavedic scale : 'first', said the philosopher-musicologist Thākur Jaidev Singh, 'in which only three or four notes were used, 'second', in which three more notes were added. Thus the full Sāmavedic scale of seven notes was evolved'. He further added : 'There is a further proof in support of the above theory. An analysis of the notation of various songs of the Sāmaveda clearly reveals the fact that most of the *sāmans* use only three to four notes, a few use five notes, very few six, and the *sāmans* using all the seven notes are extremely rare'. This has been supported by Nārada's another statement : '(द्वि) तृतीय-प्रथम-क्रुष्टान कुर्वन्त्याह्वारकाः स्वरान', etc.

The evolution of the scale of the *sāmans* is evident in the statements of both Yājñavalkya and Pāṇini, though they have

related them in the terms of *laukika* or *deśī* notes of the later period. Yājñavalkya said :

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभ धैवातौ ।
शेषास्तु स्वरिता ज्ञेयाः षडज मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥

While Pāṇini stated,

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावानुदात्ते ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितः प्रभवा ह्येते षडज-मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥

It has already been said that *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*, or grave, circumflex and high tones were the base notes or accent-tones, from which seven notes of both Vedic and *deśī* music evolved. The *svarita* or circumflex was the gliding middle, and was regarded as the tonic of the early songs, and a *descent* from this tonic became *anudātta* or grave, and an *ascent* from the tonic became *udātta* or high. *Svarita* or circumflex i.e. tonic would, therefore, be the combination of the two, deep tone and high tone. Among the seven *laukika* or *deśī* tones, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* (*deśī*) or *tṛtīya* and *mandra* (Vedic) evolved from the *anudātta* or grave accent-tone ; *niṣāda* and *gāndhāra* (*deśī*) or *atsvārya* and *dvitīya* (Vedic) from the *udātta* or high, and *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *pañchama* (*deśī*), or *chaturtha*, *prathama* and *kruṣta* (Vedic) from the *svarita* or circumflex. According to the dictum of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* : 'त्रिषु मन्द्रादिषु स्थानेषु एकैकस्मिन सप्त-सप्त यमाः भवन्ति', three sets of seven notes of bass, medium and high (*mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*) evolved to form the complete *saptaka* (octave) of both the Vedic and formalised *deśī* music. Thus we get the following medium or *madhya-saptaka* scale of *deśī* notes.

anudātta	*svarita*	*udātta*
ri, dha,	sa, ma, pa,	ni, ga
2 6	1 4 5	7 3
(*grave*)	(*medium*)	(*high*)

The *madhya-saptaka* scale of the Vedic notes,

anudātta		*svarita*			*udātta*	
tṛtīya,	mandra,	chaturtha,	prathama,	kruṣta,	atsvārya,	dvitīya
3	5	4	1	7	6	2
(*grave*)		(*medium*)			(*high*)	

Those, who are inclined to consider *vaidika kruṣta* corresponds *laukika madhyama*, *prathama gandhara*, etc., arrange the notes, *vaidika* and *laukika* as follows :

svarita —	म स प	
udātta —	ग नि	
anudātta —	रि ध	

prathama—	ग
dvitīya—	रि
tṛtīya—	स
chaturtha—	नि
mandra—	ध
atisvārya—	प
kruṣta—	म [5]

but if we follow Nārada's order : 'यः सामगानां प्रथमः सः वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः' etc., we get the descending order as,

prathama—	म		
dvitīya —	ग		
tṛtīya—	रि		
chaturtha—	स		
mandra—	ध़	or	नि़
atisvārya—	नि़		ध़
kruṣta—	प़		प़

5. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī of Tānjore says as regards the notes of the Sāmaveda : "The Sāma-Veda is said to be constructed with the help of seven notes. They are equated in the Śikṣā of Nārada with Ma Ga Ri Sa Ni Dha and Pa. But when the Sāma-Veda is chanted, we are not reminded of any secular rāga. The identification of the notes of the Sāma-Veda with particular notes, naturals sharps or flats, of secular music has given rise to an amusing number of conjeures. The most plausible one is to equate them to the notes beginning from Ga of Kharaharapriyā of the South which is same thing as Kāfi of the North. But it is also plain that neither of the two rāgas are brought to our mind when we hear the Sāman chant". – Vide *The Science of Music* (1954), p. 71.

However, in every case, both the seven notes can be arranged to form a complete scale. The equivalent of the series of the *laukika* or *deśi* notes to those of the *vaidika* ones can be found from the statements of Uvata, in connection with the 44th aphorism of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* :

Firstly—ये ते सप्त-स्वराः षडज-ऋषभ-गान्धार-मध्यम-पञ्चम-धैवत-निषादाः स्वराः इति गान्धर्ववेदे समाम्नाताः।

Secondly—तथा सामसु—क्रुष्ट-प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-मन्द्रातिस्वार्या इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्याः।

Thus it is clear that *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta* have been regarded as the *sthāna-svaras*, i.e. register or accent tones, and the complete scale of the seven notes, both *laukika* and *vaidika*, evolved not only as the medium one (*madhya-saptaka* scale), but also as the bass or *mandra*, and high or *tāra* sets of *saptakas* or scales.

There were many modes of singing of the *sāmagānas* because their different renderings, and six *vikāras* or variations in intonation were common in them. The six *vikāras* were *viśleṣaṇa*, *vikarṣaṇa*, *abhyāsa*, *virāma*, and *stobha*. As for example, to na. the verse of the Ṛkveda : अग्न आयाहि वीयते गृणानो हव्यदातये। ... नतसि बर्हिषि, etc. five variations in intonation, with some additional letters like ओ, होवा, हाउ हाउ तोयि (*stobhas*) etc., which were known as *stobhas*, were used. Four kinds of *sāmagāna* were prevalent in the Vedic period, and they were known as *grāmegeya* or *prakṛti-gāna*, *araṇyegeya-gāna*, *uhagāna*, and *ūhyagāna* or *rahasya-gāna*. The notes of the *gānas* (*sāmagānas*) were indicated by the numerals of the letters, 1, 2, 3, etc., and they were shown by the help of the fingers of the hands, to detect the correct singing or rendering of the *sāmans*. The rhythm and tempo were kept by the undulation of the head and different limbs of the body. The *sāmans* were generally sung before the sacrificial altars and specially in the *somayāga*, in laudation of the Vedic deities. Besides these, they were also sung during different sacred rites and functions. It has been said by Arnold Bake that at the actual sacrifices "a

hymn is executed by three priests who sing its seven divisions alone or in chorus. The priests, to whom the singing of the Sāmaveda is allotted, are the *Udgātar* with his two acolytes, the *Prastotar* and the *Pratihartar*. The introductory part, the *Huṃkāra* (the singing of the syllable *huṃ*), is done by the three together. Then follow : 2, the *Prastāva*, or prelude, sung by the *Prastotar* ; 3, the *Udgītha*, or main theme, by the *Udgātar* ; 4, the *Pratihāra*, the first responsorium, by the *Pratihartar* ; 5, the *Upadrava*, second responsorium, again by the *Udgātar* ; the *Nidhāna*, or final chorus, by the three priests in unision ; and finally, 7, the *Praṇava*, the chanting of the syllable *Oṃ*, also in chorus, which seals the hymn like Amen".

Method of Singing of the Samans

It has been said before that when the Ṛk-stanzas were set to tune with the Vedic tones, *prathama, dvitīya, tṛtīya, chaturtha, mandra, atisvārya* and *kruṣta*, which evolved and developed in a gradual process, *sāmagāna* came into being in the Vedic society. But certain changes happened in the structure of the *sāman*-texts when they were rendered in singing, and the changes were, as Principal Jaideva Singh suggested in his article, *Sāmavedic Music* :[6]

"The hymns of the *Ṛgveda* were set to music in [illegible] but certain structural changes were made in the [illegible] hymns when they were given a musical setting in [illegible] important changes were the following :

"1. *Vikāra*—Changes in the letters of the *Ṛgvedic* wo[illegible] the *Sāmavedic* setting e.g., '*Agne*' of *Ṛgveda* becoming '*Ognāi*' in *Sāmavedic* rendering.

2. *Viśleṣaṇa*—A *Ṛgvedic* word is broken into parts in *Sāmavedic* setting, e.g. '*Vītaye*' of *Ṛgvedic* text becoming '*Voi-tayā 2 yi*' in *Sāmavedic* song.

6. Vide, *The Bases of Indian Culture*, published by the Rāmakrishna Vedānta Math, Calcutta, as a Commemoration Volume of Swāmī Abhedānanda (on the occasion of his centenary celebration).

3. *Vikarṣaṇa*—The vowel of a *Ṛgvedic* word being lengthened in *Sāmavedic* song, e.g., 'ye' becoming '*Ya 2 3 yi*' in *Sāmavedic* rendering.
4. *Abhyāsa* i.e. repetition, e.g. singing '*toya 2 yi*' twice as '*toya 2 yi, toya 2 yi*'.
5. *Virāma*—Pause. Singing part of a word after a pause, e.g. of the phrase '*grananohavyadataye*', one is to sing '*granano ha*', and then after a short pause, '*vya dataye*'.
6, *Stobha*— Introduction of exclamatory words in the midst of a song, for example, the introduction of exclamatory words like *auhovā*, *hāu hāu* etc. in the midst of a particular song."

Gradually there evolved a fixed system of notation (*svaralipi*) which was numerical, and the notes of the *sāmagāna* were used to be indicated by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. It is true that the *sāmans* were used to be sung in pentatonic scale with five tones. But some of the recensions (*śākhās*) used one or two more tones in their scale, and the *Prātiśākhya* of the Sāmaveda, *Puṣpasūtra* and also the *Nāradīśikṣā* say that the *Kauthuma-śākhā* used six and sometimes seven tones in the *sāmagāna*. So, if we take the *sāman*-scale of the *Kauthuma* recension, we find that the figure 1 indicates *prathama* note which is equal to *madhyama* note of the *laukika* or post-Vedic music according to the rule as set by Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (in the 1st century A.D.) : 'यः सामगानां प्रथमः सः वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः' etc. The word *veṇu* indicates the formalised *deśī* or *laukika* type of music. However the Vedic notes are indicated by the figures as follows :

Numerical figure		*Vedic tone*	*Laukika tone*
1	...	prathama	madhyama
2	...	dvitīya	gāndhāra
3	...	tṛtīya	ṛṣabha
4	...	chaturtha	ṣaḍja
5	...	madra	dhaivata
6	...	atisvārya	niṣāda
7	...	kruṣṭa	pañchama

As the Vedic tones (notes) are in descending, i.e. downward movement, so it has already been said that their forms will be :

ma ga ri sa dha (bass), ni (bass) and pa (bass).

So the numerical figures as given on the top of the Ṛk-*mantras*, indicate the tones or notes. There are five components in the Sāmavedic songs, and they are (it has already been mentioned) : *huṁkāra* or *hiṁkāra*, *prastāva*, *udgīta*, *pratihāra* and *nidhāna*. Nārada of the *Śikṣā* said that the *sāmans* used to be sung as the basis of *mūrcchanā*, *jāti*, *mātrā*, *rasa* and *bhāva*. And it should be noticed that if there is an *avagraha* after a particular letter, it means that the letter has two *mātrās*. An example of the Sāmavedic songs is given hereunder :

१ - २ । ३ १ १२ । ३ १ २ । ३ १ २ ।
(1) ऋग ॥ त त् स वि तु र्व रे ण्य भ र्गो दे व स्य

१ २ ३ १ । २ ३ १ २ ।
धीमही । धीयोयो नः प्रचोदयात् ।

This *gāyatrī-sāma* should be sung at present with the *deśī* or *laukika* notes as :

ओ ऽ त म् । त त् स वि तु र्व रो नि यो ऽ म् ॥
सा - नि रि । रि रि रि रि रि रि रि ० रि - रि

भ र्गो दे व स्य धी म ही ऽ २ ॥
रि रि - रि रि रि - रि - रि सा - ।

धि यो यो नः प्र चो १ २ १ २ ॥
सा रि रि रि रि सा - रि - सा रि सा ।

हि म् - आ २ ॥ दा यो ॥ आ ऽ ३ ४ ५ ॥
रि रि रि - सा - । रि रि सा नि़ - ध़ प

= दीर्घ ६ । पर्व ६ । मात्रा १

इति प्रकृतिसप्तगानांगभुतं गायत्रन्यं प्रथमं गानं ॥

Now it should be noted that very ancient type of singing of the *samans* was current with only three notes, नि रि सा i.e. नि़ is bass, रि and सा are in the medium place. Gradually

four and five notes were in use, and the Kauthuma recension used two more notes i.e. sixth and seventh to enrich the system of their singing.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the name *Sām* or *sāman* is not named after the *deśī* or *laukika* notes, sā and mā. It is true that the *deśī* type of songs of the uneducated and common people were in practice in the society, and the sophisticated and formalized classical (high way) type of songs evolved on the background of them. The Vedic music was recognized as the formalized one, as it used to follow some rules and methods.

Music in the Prehistoric Time

We know that from the diggings of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa mounds that many of the valuable things like seals, sacred tank, dolls of the deities, musical instruments like crude-type flutes, lute or *Veeṇā*. Stuart Piggot said : 'Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, ** there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes **. There is good evidence that these instruments were constructed according to the heptatonic scale (seven notes)* *.'[7]

Rāy Bāhādur K. N. Dīkṣit said : 'Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, a prototype of the modern *Veeṇā* ; while a pair of castanets, like the modern *karatāla*, have also been found'.[8] Different kinds of drum and a bronze dancing girl were discovered. It is striking to note that the lute or *Veeṇā* with some strings prove that the musical sense of the Indus Valley people was keen and artistic. Stuart Piggot admitted that there is a good evidence that some of the musical instruments were constructed according to heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) scale, with seven notes. But it should be mentioned in this connection that though a

7. Cf. *Prehistoric India* (1950), pp. 270-271.
8. Cf. *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley* (Madras, 1939), p. 30.

crude prototype of a modern *Veeṇā* was found there, it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty that the practice of seven notes was current in the prehistoric Indian society. For clarification, Piggot's statement is quoted below : "There is some interesting evidence for Aryan music. Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, and in addition to this and the drum there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes". 'It refers only to an instrument of Vedic times mentioned in the Ṛgveda, but not to any instrument from Harappa sites' said Sri S. R. Rao, M.A., Superintendent, Dept. of Archæology, Excavation Branch, Nagpur. I take the opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Sri Rao, for drawing my attention to the above fact (vide his D.O. letter No. 14/1/59-4250, dated the 4th Dec. 1959).

We find similar instances in prehistoric Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilization and culture. Curt Sachs was of the opinion that though very few musical instruments were excavated in Mesopotamia, and most of them were found in the royal cemetery at Ur, Abraham's native town, yet many reliefs and plaques, seals and mosaics, from a period extending over three thousand years, depict musical scenes, where pipes or lutes with different holes were to be found. Dr. Henry George Farmer, while dealing on the music of ancient Mesopotamia, said that from early Sumerian to late Assyrian days, music was part and parcel of social life in Mesopotamia. 'From the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal III (c. 883-859 B.C.) we get ample lithographic material on musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.)'. Dr. Farmar said that "the cordophone group of Mesopotamian instruments reveals types of the highest interest to musicologists. Perhaps the most remarkable are the harp and kithara family ; the evolutionary stages of the harp are particularly fascinating. * * In the first, found on a slab from Khafāja (c. 2700 B.C.), now at Chicago.* * Similar examples (c. 2600 and 2500 B.C.) are at Philadelphia.* * The

second form, with a separate bow-shaped neck fixed to a horizontal sound-chest, was not unlike the Burmese *sauṅ*. It is delineated on a vase from Bismaya (c. 3000 B.C.) at Stamboul, although there is an actual specimen from Ur (twenty-fifth century B.C.) at the British Museum. The instrument of the foremost player on the Bismaya vase has only seven strings whilst the Ur instrument has eleven. The former may relate to the *śibītu* (seven stringed harp)* *'." Woolley, Galpin, and Curt Sachs also admitted this fact.

Regarding the heritage of the instruments, found in Mesopotamia, Ur, Sumeria, Greece and other places, Dr. Farmer said that Terpander was of the opinion that the lyre had four strings until he made them seven (iii. 67), which Strabo seems to confirm. 'Whence did this inspiration come? Could it have been Babylon? If we can trust pseudo-Plutarch (*De musica.* iii, xviii), it would appear that the Greeks at this time were most conservative in musical matters. Bœthus said that it was the seven plants which suggested the number of strings that agreed with a Mesopotamian origin. Instruments of music found their way into Greece from the Orient in large numbers. Strabo said: 'And those writers who have consecrated to whole of Asia, as far as India, to Dionysus, derive the greater part of music from there.' But it is interesting to mention that the editors of *The New Oxford History of Music* fought shy of a truth when they did not admit their debt to India's contribution, as they said in the footnote that the term 'India' meant countries much nearer, (vide *Cosmographia Ethici*, p. 28) with the additions by Julius Honorius (p. 7). Even the ecclesiastical historians call the Arabs 'Indians'. However, it is a fact that some of the developed musical instruments were found in the most ancient pre-historic cities like Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and Channu-daro, and some notes with scales were known to those people. Dancing was also prevalent in the Indus Valley cities. Rāi Bāhādur Dīkṣit said that besides dancing, it appears that music was cultivated among the Indus people, and it seems probable

that the earliest stringed instruments and drums are to be traced to the Indus civilization'.

It has been mentioned in the *Śikṣās* and the *Prātiśākhyas* that evolution of the seven notes were completed in the early Vedic time. But the crude stringed lute or *Veeṇā*, excavated from the mounds of Mohenjo-daro, was not a genuine evidence and landmark in tracing out the culture of the socalled pre-historic Indus cities, which was perhaps uninterruptedly connected with the Vedic culture. We are glad to know that some of the modern archæologists and historians have found out some similarities of culture and civilization between the antique Indus Valley cities and the Vedic society.

But it is difficult to know the definite forms of music of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa peoples, and some of the features and characteristics of their music can be guessed only through the light of the Vedic music, the form and culture of which extended down to 600-500 B.C.

The expert singers and chanters of the Vedic age knew fully well the specific laws and methods of application of the three registers : bass, medium and high i.e., *mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*. The three ancient register-notes or *sthānasvaras*, raised, not-raised and balancing circumflex i.e. *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* came to be used as three kinds of pitches of speaking as well as of singing voices. Rhythm and tempo were used in accordance with different types of feet of the Vedic metres, *gāyatrī*, *jagatī*, *anuṣtupa*, etc. The time-measure or *tāla* was observed in hymnal songs and in different types of *sāmagāna* in two different ways, with beat and without beat i.e. *sa-śabda* and *nis-śabda*. The *sa-śabda* time measure was kept with the clapping of hands and the *nis-śabda* one by wavering of the hands or different limbs of the body. From these two fundamental time-measures or time-observing processes there evolved various kinds of time-measure in the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of music in the classical period.

Music in Classical Period

600-500 B.C. is an epoch-making period, and it can be said to be an age of renaissance. At the advent of the classical period there evolved a new type of music, known as *gāndharva*. It was constructed out of the materials and principles of the Vedic music, *sāmagāna*. Bharata of the second century A.D. traced the traditional link between the music, *vaidika* and *laukika* i.e., *sāmagāna* and classical *gāndharva*, in connection with the compilation of his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Music was an indispensible adjunct of ancient Sanskrit plays. The *gāndharva* type of music was considered as sacred and celestial like the Vedic music, and so it was known as '*mārga*'. The term '*mārga*' suggests the idea of searching ('*mṛg—anveṣaṇe*') and collecting, i.e., *mārga* connotes the idea that most of the materials of the Vedic music were searched for and collected (*saṁgṛhīta*) and then were applied to the classical *gāndharva* type of music. The practice of the Vedic music became gradually obsolete, as it did not suit the taste of the progressive people of the classical society.

In the *Saṅgīta-Darpaṇa*, the 'highway' music is called as '*mārga*', because it was followed by Śiva or Druhina and was practised (*prayuktaṃ*) by Bharata. In Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa* (I.15), dancing is called as '*mārga*', as it displays the meaning of words by means of gestures. In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2.4), sacred music is mentioned as distinct from profane music, in connection with the seduction of Vāk 'who is won over from the Gandharvas by the Devas'. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy said : "Now the word *mārga*, rendered above by 'highway' derives from *mṛg*, to chase or hunt, especially by tracking. In the Ṛgveda, it is familiar that what one hunts and tracks by its spoor, is always the deity, the hidden light, the occulted Sun and Agni, who must be found, and is sometimes referred to as lurking in his lair. This is so well-known that a very few citations will suffice. In Ṛv. VIII. 2.6 men are said to pursue (*mṛgayante*) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (*mṛgaṃ na*), with offerings of milk and

kine (which may be compared to bait); in Ṛv. VII. 87.6, Varuṇa is compared to a 'fierce beast' (*mṛgas tuviṣman*); in Ṛv.X.46.2 the Bhṛgus, eager seekers after Agni, track him by his spoor (*padaiḥ*) like some lost beast (*paśun na naṣṭaṃ*). *Mārga* is then the creature's 'runway', the 'track to be followed' (*padaviya*) by the *vestigium pedis*. One sees thus clearly what values are implied in the expression *mārga*, 'Way', and how inevitably that which is *mārga* is likewise *vimukti-da*, since it is precisely by the finding of the Hidden Light that liberation is effected."

Further he mentioned: "*Deśī*', on the other hand, deriving from *diś*, to 'indicate', and hence *diś*, 'region' or 'quarter', is 'local'; cf. *deśaṃ niviś*, to 'settle' in a given locality, *deśa vyavahāra* or *deśāchāra*, 'local custom', 'way of the world', and *deśya*, 'native'. * * *loka*, 'world', is etymologically Latin *locus*, a place defined by given conditions; the *laukika*, 'mundane' is literally 'local'; * * From the celestial or solar point of view, *deśī* is thus mundane, human and devious, as distinct from super-mundane, divine and direct, * *. We think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the distinction of *mārga* from *deśī* is not necessarily a distinction of aristocratic and cultivated from folk and primitive art, but one of sacred and traditional from profane and sentimental art".[9]

In the beginning of the classical period, there evolved a new *jāti* type of music, which was mainly connected with the performance of drama, and so it was known as the stage-song or *nātyagīti* i.e., a type of melodic song applicable to drama. It is said that two great authors, Brahmā and Brahmābharata and Sadāśiva or Sadāśivabharata flourished between 600 and 500 B.C. and they wrote or compiled two new types of dramas, *Brahmābharataṃ* and *Sadāśivabharataṃ*, in which some chapters were devoted to music.[10] Bharata of the second century A.D. followed them and collected most of the materials from their

9. Vide Dr. Coomaraswamy: *Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art* (Dover Publications Inc., 1956), pp.133-138.

10. Abhinavagupta said: '**एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन**' ।

dramas, and so his *Nātyaśāstra* is known by the name *saṁgraha-grantha* or 'collection'.

The newly evolved *jātirāga*-songs were known as the pure parent type of music of the beginning of the classical age, and they were named after the initial letters of the seven *laukika* or *deśī* notes, *ṣadja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, etc. They were possessed of ten characteristics like sonant (*vādī* or *aṁśa*), consonant (*samvādī*), assonant (*anuvādī*), melodic movements or *varṇas*, spanning of the scale or *mūrcchanā*, notes like initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*), etc. The *jātis* were both melodies and songs themselves, like the *rāgagītis*, as mentioned by Mataṅga of the fifth-seventh century, but the *jātis* were the source or forerunners of both the *grāmarāgas* and the *rāgagītis*. The *jāti* type of melodies had their full play in the ancient scales (*grāmas*) like *ṣadja*, *gāndhāra* and *madhyama*, with three registers or *sthānas* and successions of notes, in their ascending and descending orders. They were impregnated with eight emotional sentiments and moods. Different musical instruments like lute or *Veeṇā*, flute or *Veṇu*, cymbal and different types of drum followed them. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), we find the practice of pure seven *jātirāga-gānas*. The wandering Bards, Kuśa and Lava, were efficient in both Vedic and classical types of music, and they were trained by their Master Vālmikī.

Between 400 and 200 B.C. their evolved another new type of melodic song, *grāmarāga*. It has already been said that the *grāmarāga*-songs were constructed out of the *jātirāgas* of different *grāmas*. The *grāmas* evolved out of the cluster or succession of notes. From the *Nāradīśikṣā* of the first century A.D. we know that seven kinds of scale evolved and gave rise to seven types of melodies like *grāmarāgas*. The seven types of scales and melodies are : *ṣāḍava*, *pañchama*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama*. The existence of these seven ancient scale are fully supported by the Kudumiamalai Cave-Inscription, installed by the Pallava King Mahendravarman, in the early Chālukyan period, seventh

century A.D. In *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.) and *Harivaṃśa* (200 B.C.), we find the practice of six *grāmarāgas* : '*ṣaḍ-grāma rāgādi samādhi-yuktaṃ*'. These *grāmarāgas* had their full play even in the third *gāndhāragrāma* : '*ā-gandhāra-grāmarāgaṃ*', which was rendered obsolete in the Christian era. The *prabandha* type of classical *Brahmagītis* and *Kapālagītis* also evolved at that time, the full descriptions of which are mentioned in the Śāraṅgadeva's encyclopædic work *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of the early thirteenth century. These new types of *Brahmagītis* were *aparāntaka, ullopya, sarovindu, uttara, ṛk, gāthā, pānik*, etc. It is said that they were devised by Brahmābharata, the first propagator of the *gāndharva* music. Śāraṅgadeva said that the *Brahmagītis* were practised with *jāti* or *grāma rāgas* of different scales, registers, rhythms and tempi.

In the beginning of the Christian era, we come across the *Śikṣā* literature, which dealt mainly with metres and tunes of the Vedic stanzas (*ṛcs*). Some of the *Śikṣās* are very important for the classical music also. The *Nāradīśikṣā* described both *vaidika* and *laukika* music. It deals with seven kinds of melody and scale, which have been mentioned before. Besides the seven melodies or *grāmarāgas*, we find that there evolved five microtones, which served the basic notes of the tonal forms of the *gāndharva* music, and it has been said before that they were : *dīptā, āyatā, mṛdu, madyā* and *karuṇā*. The names of the so-called microtones were given, according to their respective inherent sentiments and mood; as for example, the microtone *dīptā* signifies *shining, glowing* or *heroic* mood, which means the sentiment *vīra*; *āyatā* signifies *broadness*, which means *śānta*; *mṛdu* signifies *softness* or *slackness*, which means *jugupsā* or *vibhatsa*; *madhyā* signifies *intermediate* or *balancing*, which means *hāsya*, and *karuṇā* signifies *compassion*, which means *karuṇā*. In fact, all the eight æsthetic sentiments, as described by Bharata, were the inherent qualities of the microtones, and from these, evolved the latter twenty-two microtones, *chandovatī*, etc. The microtones are useful for determining the correct intonations of the tones, their bases or grounds and, consequently, the *grāmas*

or scales. They are very signficant and meaningful, because they determine the emotive nature of the melodies or *rāgas*.

During the time of Bharata (second century A.D.), though the *gāndharva* type of music played an important role in the domain of Indian music, yet a tendency of rectifying or formalizing the tribal and regional tunes was found among the progressive communities of people. Bharata devised eleven mixed or *saṁkīrṇa jātirāgas* and *jātirāga-gītis*, with all the characteristics and *aṅgas*, and, therefore, in his time, eighteen types of *jātirāgas* and *gītis* were in practice. The four types of regional but classical songs, *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhābitā* and *pṛthulā* also evolved, and they were sung along with the *jātis* and sacred *dhruvāgītis*. Some of the hymnal *dhruvāgītis*, which were sung in praise of the gods, were known as the '*saṁkīrtana*', with the name of which we are familiar during the time of Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, in the sixteenth-eighteenth century A.D.

Bharata developed twenty-two *śrutis* or audible subtle notes, based upon the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) principle and built the whole system upon the basis of the so-called five microtones, as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*. Bharata discovered the *śrutis* by the help of two same-sized *Veeṇās*, shiftable and fixed i.e., *chala* and *achala*. The Vedic musical instruments, *kāśyapī* or *kacchapī*, *kṣauṇi*, *kinnarī*, *audumvarī*, *ghoṣakā*, *vāna* and the latter evolved *kātyāyanī* with hundred strings, *picchorā* or *picchola*, etc. were developed or moulded into new forms. Some of them were replaced by newly devised *Veeṇās* like *Dāravi*, *Gātra*, *Chitrā*, *Vipañchi*, etc. The practice of flute or pipe (*Veṇu*) was survived with its old traditional glory throughout the ages. The Vedic drum was modified to some extent, and out of it, the *puṣkara* or *mṛdaṅga* type of drum evolved, which accompanied the *gānas*, *jātirāga*, *grāmarāga*, *dhruvā*, etc. Different kinds of time-measures like *samā*, *srotogatā*, and *gopucchā* evolved with different units or *kalās* like *chitrā*, *vārtika*, and *dakṣiṇā*. Other kinds of *jātis* like *viṣama*, *mṛdaṅga*, *pluta* also came into being. The *jātis* used to keep pace with the musical movements.

Like dramatic play and different types of *prabandha-gītis*, classical dances with different hand-poses and gestures and postures evolved as part and parcel of the dramatic music. Bharata used two terminologies, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* for dance, of which the former signified the dance devoid of emotional sentiments (*rasa*) and moods (*bhāva*) and was based on sheer physical gestures and movements, supported by rhythm and tempo (*tāla* and *laya*), while the latter conveyed both sentiment and mood. This distinction as well as their significance have been made clear by Dhanika, Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta. During the time of Abhinavagupta, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., there evolved seven types of dance or *nṛtta*, which were accompanied by *gīta* and *vādya*. The seven types of *nṛtta* were: *śuddha*, *gītādi-abhinayonmukha*, *gāna-vādya-tālānusāri*, *uddhānta*, *miśraṇa*, *miśra-uddhānta* and *miśra-miśraṇa*. From the *uddhanta-nṛtta*, the *tāṇḍava* type and from the *sukumāra-nṛtta*, the *lāsya* type of dances evolved. Again from *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, different kinds of classical dance evolved with their specific movements of the body and the hand-poses.

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣtika, Durgāśakti, Dattila, Śārdula, Mataṅga and other musicologists formulated many new types of melody. Especially in the fourth-seventh century, there was a new revival in Indian music, with the evolution of numerous sophisticated regional and tribal tunes. Some of the foreign non-Aryan tunes like *śaka*, *śaka'ilaka*, *śaka-miśrita*, *turuṣka*, *turuṣka-toḍi*, *turuṣka-gauḍa*, *pulindikā* etc. were included into the Aryan stock. The *śakarāga* was the national tune of the Scythians. Yāṣtika and Mataṅga discussed about those five kinds of regional *gīti*, and they were; *śuddhā*, *bhinnā* or *bhinnakā*, *vesarā*, *gauḍa* and *sādhārita*. Those types of *rāga-gīti* were known by their respective tunes or *rāgas*.

Two new and novel ideas evolved during Mataṅga's time, and they were the philosophical concept of the theory of musical sound and the *śāstric* and scientific definition of the melodies. Though melody type or *rāga* was in practice from

the pre-Christian era, yet Mataṅga for the first time determined its specific meaning and definition, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He mentioned about seventy-three types of subordinate melodies or *bhāṣā-rāgas*, and they were mostly regional and aboriginal in nature.

During the times of Kohala, Yāstika, and Mataṅga, the Gupta Rulers were in full power. It is said that the poet Kālidāsa flourished at that time, though there is a dispute among the historians regarding his date. Kālidāsa gave the *mūrcchanās* a very high place, and during his time, the *mūrcchanās* of the *gāndhāra-grāma*, survived among the communities of Gandharva, Yakṣa and Kinnara. The *maṅgala-prabandha-gānas* were also in practice in his time. They were also practised in the pre-Christian era, but the special feature of the sacred *maṅgalagīti* of the time of Kālidāsa was that it was sung with one traditional *kaiśikī* and one regional *botta-rāgas*. The tune or *rāga botta* evolved in the land of the Himalāyan Bhutiās i.e. the Bhotadeśas like Tibet, Bhutān, etc. From this it is understood that there was a cultural and commercial link between India and Bhotadeśa. Many of the dramatic music and dances evolved during the time of Kālidāsa, and they were *gītis* like *dvipadikā*, *jambhalikā*, *khanda dhārā*, etc. and dances like *khuraka*, *khaṇḍaka valantikā*, and *galitakā*, etc.

In the ninth-eleventh century, during the time of the Jaina musicologist Pārśvadeva, two kinds of *ālapti*, *rāgalapti* and *rūpakalapti*, evolved which formed the basic ground of the manifestation of the tonal forms of the *rāgas*. The tunes of the aboriginal Himalāyan tribe, *Bhirava* : *Bhairava* and *Bhairavī* were introduced into the Aryan stock, and they were afterwards recognized as the prominent melodies in the classical type of music. Besides them, variants of tunes or melodies of *varāti*, *toḍī*, *gauḍa*, *gurjarī*, etc., and those of *śrī* and *krī* stocks, evolved to enrich the treasure of Indian classical music.

In the early thirteenth century, the South Indian musicologist Śāraṅgadeva formulated twelve kinds of displaced or chromatic note, in addition to the pure seven notes. Before him, only

two displaced or *vikṛta* notes, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākali-niṣāda*, were current in the system of Indian music. During his time, we notice that the five limbs (*aṅgas*) of the Vedic music, *praśtāva*, *udgītha*, *pratihāra*, *upadrava* and *nidhāna* were used with their new names, *udgrāha*, *anudgrāha*, *sambandha*, *druvaka* and *ābhoga* as the music-parts or *dhātus* of the *prabandha-gītis*. But their names and forms were again changed to some extent, towards the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

Besides them, we find a systematic order in the forms and divisions of the classical *rāgas* and *gītis*. As regards the evolution of classical types of melodies, we come to know from Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* that the subordinate *bhāṣā* type of melodies evolved from the ancient parent scales or *gramas*, the *vibhāṣā-rāgas* from the *bhāṣā* ones and the *antarabhāṣā-rāgas* from the *vibhāṣā* ones. Śāraṅgadeva brought a more perfect order in the divisions of the *rāgas* and the *prabandha-gītis*. The six kinds of limb or *aṅga* of the *prabandha-gītis* evolved at that time, and they are : *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tena*, *pāta* and *tāla*. These iimbs or *aṅgas* really determined the nature and characteristics of the *gītis*. Gradually the five kinds of *jāti* evolved to specifically classify and determine the musical compositions of the *gītis*, and they were : *medinī*, *ānandi*, *dīpanī*, *bhāvanī* and *tārāvalī* (vide *SR*. canto IV. 19). The musical compositions were mainly divided into two classes, ordered or *niryukta* and without order or *aniryukta*. The three divisions of the *prabandha* type of music evolved, and they were of three classes, *sūḍa*, *ālī* and *viprakīrṇa*. From these three classes, 7+24+34=65 types of new *prabandha-gīti* evolved. From these, many other subordinate types of *prabandh ı-gīti* came into being. All these classical *prabandhas* were included under three heads, *śuddha*, *chāyālaga* and *saṃkīrṇa* or *kṣudra*. The above-mentioned *dhruvaka* type of the *prabandha-gīti* may be the forerunner of the present *dhruvapada* type of music. This type was revived by Rājā Mān of Gwalior, Nāyaka Gopāl, Bāiju Bāorā and other eminent artists and lovers of music. The *kṣudra-gīti* might have been evolved from the *dhruvaka-prabandha*, and from the *kṣudra-gīti*

evolved *chitrapadā*, *chitrakalā*, the present types of modified *dhruvapada* and *pāñchālī*. Regarding evolution of these types, there are different opinion among the scholars. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari of the early eighteenth century mentioned the types of the *pāñchālī-gītis* in his *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*. The contribution of Bengal, in the domain of melodies, was also immense.

Besides the *rāgas*, various types of time-measure or *tāla* evolved at this time, with different time-units or *mātrās* like *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*, different features like *kalā*, *mārga*, *piṇḍa*, *aṅga*, *graha* and different *jātis* like *caturasra*, *tisra*, *miśra*, *khaṇḍa* and *saṃkīrṇa*. Besides, various types of lute, flute and drum, a new type of lute or *Veeṇā* was devised by Śāraṅgadeva himself, and it was known as the *Nisśaṅka-Veeṇā*.

Music in post-Classical Period

About the close of the thirteenth century, Āmir Khasrau, the Persian Poet and court-musician of Sultān Ālā-ud-dīn devised some new types of melody and musical instrument. He introduced some Persian scales and melodies and some of the *Qāwāli* type of regional songs in Indian classical stock.

In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā became new seats of culture of Indian classical music. Swāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa and other Vaiṣṇava savants revived a new style and form of the *prabandha*, *dhruvapada*. Emperor Akbar helped much to enrich the culture of the *dhruvapada*. Miāṅ Tānsen was a great artist and patron of traditional as well as newly moulded form and technique of the *dhruvapada* type. It is said that Tānsen introduced the Senī style of music during Akbar's time. Some are of the opinion that the Senī style of *dhruvapada* evolved after his death through his worthy descendants. The contribution of religio-devotional type of *bhajana* of Mīrā Bāi, Suradās, Kavīra and others were made at this time. A new type of *prabandha* music, *Horī-Dhāmāra* also evolved in connection with the sacred Holi festival of Vṛndāvana.

Gradually the *kheyāl* type of song evolved with a new style and embellishment by the side of the *dhruvapada*, to suit the taste of the progressive society. It was more imaginative and decorative, but light in its form than the *dhruvapada*. It was first introduced by Sultān Hussan Sharqi of Jaunpur and then developed by Raṅgile Niyāmat Khān, the Veenkār. Next *ṭhuṁri*, with its three styles—Lucknow, Banaras and Punjābi—evolved to enrich Indian music, and it had an intense æsthetic appeal. Gradually *dādrā*, *sādrā*, *tappā*, *tārāṇā*, *gazal* and such other light but decorative types of song came into being.

As regards the evolution of basic scales or *melas*, we find that from the beginning of the classical period (600 B.C.) the *grāmas* played an important role as the basic scales. Afterwards the *mūrcchanās* that evolved from the *grāmas*, played the role of those *grāmas* to determine the specific forms or structures of the *rāgas*. In the fourteenth-sixteenth century, fifteen parent scales or *melas* evolved through Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, the renowned Vedāntist of the Śaṅkara school. In 1550, twenty basic scales evolved as the source of a host of melodies in the time of Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala. Puṇḍarika was contemporary to Emperor Akbar. It should be reminded that new nomenclatures of the scale '*mela*' or '*thāta*' came into being in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) was credited with coining the term '*mela*' and '*thāta*'. We find in his *Rāgabivodha* the lines : '*milanti vargī-bhavanti rāgā yatreti tadāśrayāḥ svarasaṁasthāna-viśeṣā melāḥ*; '*thāta*' *iti bhāṣāyām*'.[11] Before him, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala and other musicologists devised and divided the melodies (*rāgas*), according to the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme. Somanāth devised twenty-three parent scales. All the musicologists of that time determined a standard or basic scale (*śuddha-thāta*), for determining the nature of the structure of the *rāgas*. During the time of Paṇḍit Lochana-Kavi, Paṇḍit Ahobala, Paṇḍit

11. मिलन्ति वर्गीभवन्ति रागा यत्रे ति तदाश्रयाः स्वर-संस्थानविशेषा मेलाः, 'थाट' इति भाषायाम्। —रागविबोधः।

Rāmāmatya, different numbers of scales evolved as the fountainhead of numerous *rāgas*. In 1620 A.D. during Veṅkatamakhī's time, seventy-two basic scales or *melakartās* evolved in the South Indian system of music, and only nineteen out of them were current in his life-time.

During Kavi Lochana's time (middle of the sixteenth-seventeenth century), we find that twelve scales or *saṃsthānas* (as he named the scale) were sufficient to determine the forms of the *rāgas*. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe devised ten parent scales, and they have been accepted in the present North-Indian Hindusthāni system of music.

As in North India, so we find the evolution of different types of music in South India. Types of music like *kṛti*, *padaṃ*, *varṇaṃ*, *rāgamālikā*, *jāvāli*, *pallivi*, etc. evolved according to the creative taste of the South Indian society. Different art music like *sañchari-gīti*, *lakṣaṇa-gīti*, *rāgāṅgo-rāga*, *lakṣmaṇa-gīti*, *jātisvara*, *svarajāti* and other different types of *kīrtana* like *divyanāma*, *utsava-sampradāya*, *mānasa-pūjā*, *vedānta*, etc. and *nāmāvalī* types of music evolved. Besides them, various types of folk music like *lāvānī*, *kāvāḍi-chiuḍu*, *tappan* and *āmāṇi*, etc. are worth-mentioning in this connection.

Different types of classical and folk music evolved in different times, in Bengal. The *charyā* and *vajra gītis* of the Mahāyāni Buddhists evolved in the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. as religio-devotional songs, and they were sung with classical melodies like *rāmakirī*, *gurjarī*, *bhairavī*, *bhairava*, *vasanta*, *hindola*, *mallāri*, etc. The classical *tālas* were used in them. The *prabandha-gītis* of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* were remarkable contribution to Indian music. The *rāgas*, used in the *padagītis* of *Gītagovinda*, can correctly be presented even in these days by changing the tonal arrangements of *mukhāri* (similar to the present form of *kāphī*) to the present standard scale, *vilāvala*. Treatises of the 16th-17th century and especially of Paṇḍit Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdayakautuka* are very helpful in this respect. As for example, *gurjari-rāga* was in the *gaurī* scale during the time of Jayadeva (twelfth century A.D.), but it is now in the *bhairava* scale, with *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* as flat

or chromatic (*komala*) notes. It should be remembered that in the nineteenth century radical changes overtook scale, melody and note.

In the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D., the *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* evolved out of the remains of *charyā, gītagovinda, maṅgalagīti, pāñchālī*, etc., and it was enriched in the hands of Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa of Nānnura, Vidyāpati, Umāpati-dhar, Umāpati-ojhā and others. The *nāma-kīrtana*, evolved in the fifteenth century, was devised by Śrī Chaitanya. During this period, *padāvalīs*, composed of *vrajabuli*, were developed by a host of Vaiṣṇava savants, like Rāmānanda Rāy, Yaśorāja Khān, Murārigupta, Naraharidāsa, Vāsudev Ghose, Mādhava Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Vaṅśīvadana-dāsa, Nayanānanda, Valarāma-dāsa, Śivānanda Chakravurty and others. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ṭhākur Narottama-dāsa devised a new type of classical *kīrtana*, which was known as the *rasa* or *līlā-kīrtana*. It was designed after the form of the *dhruvapada-prabandha* in slow tempo (*vilamvita-laya*). The Vaiṣṇava conference of Khetari is memorable in this connection. The *gourachandrikā* of the *līlā-kīrtana* evolved at that time. In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, there evolved different schools of *padāvali-kīrtana*: *manoharasāhi, rāṇīhāti* or *reṇeti, mandāriṇī, jhāḍkhaṇḍī*, etc. The classical type of *līlā-kīrtana*, devised by Ṭhākur Narottama, was included in the *gaḍerhāti* or *garāṇhāti* school, as it evolved from the Garāṇhāti division. Different patterns of time-measures or *tālas* also evolved to suit the types of *kīrtana*.

Besides *kīrtana*, different types of classico-folk and folk songs evolved, and they were : *yātrā, kavigāna, jhumura, yoga* and *bāul gītis, bhāṭiyālī, jāri, sāri, maṇipuri-kīrtana*, etc. The socio-mystic songs of Kaviguru Rabindranāth, Dwijendralāl, Rajanīkānta, Atulprasād and Kāzi Nazrul are the treasures of Indian music. Different types of music of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Himāchala-Pradeśa, Kābul, Kāndāhāra and those of the Greater India have also added to the stock of Indian music. In the early twentieth century, modern type of music evolved from the mixture of different tunes, classical and folk,

getting free scope in the hands of the creative artists of modern India. New types of music will continue to be evolved in future, as man's intuition and creative power are bound to evolve. The music of India will move forward with its new and novel forms and techniques as progression of the stuff of the society.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVOLUTION OF THE RĀGAS

The story of evolution of different *rāgas* is generally connected with a mythico-religious legend, where a divine couple, Śiva and Pārvatī or Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī plays an important role. But this legend had its origin in the later period, when the genus-species (*sāmānya-viśeṣa*) or cause-effect (*kārya-kāraṇa*) principle came into being in the domain of Indian music. This ideational principle was more materialized when the male-female scheme of the *ragas* was adopted during the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The mediæval authors of music did not overlook the scientific and psychological principles behind the evolution of the *rāgas*. At that time they adopted in their process the mythico-religious idea for spiritualizing the sphere of Indian music. We find there the influence of two main religious schools, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, originated from Śiva and Viṣṇu—one presiding deity of the non-Aryans and the other, the god of the Aryans. But this mythico-religious element was quite unknown in Indian music in the beginning of the Christian era. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find the evolution of philosophical ideas in Indian music, which was connected with the evolution of microtones (*śruti*) and tones (*svara*) from the causal sound or *nada*. We find this idea clearly in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, where he said,

Idānīṃ sampravakṣyāmi nāda-lakṣmaṇamuttamam /
Na nādena vinā gītaṃ na nādena vinā svaraḥ // etc.[1]

Some are of the opinion that the post-Bharata musicologists, like Kohala, Yāṣtika, Mataṅga and others got this philosophical idea from the great Epic, *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.), which stated,

1. इदानीं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि नाद-लक्षणमुत्तमम् ।
न नादेन विना गीतं न नादेन विना स्वरः ॥
—बृहद्देशी

Tatraika-guṇa ākāśaḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ /

* * * *

Ṣaḍjarṣabhaḥ gāṇdhāro madhyamaḥ-pañchama smṛtaḥ //
Ataḥ paraṃ tu vijñeyo niṣādo dhaivatastathā //

* * * *

Evaṃ vahuvidho jñeyaḥ śabda ākāśasambhavaḥ /
Ākāśamuttamaṃ bhūtaṃ ahaṃkārastataḥ paraḥ /
Ahaṁkārāt parā buddhiḥ buddherātmā tataḥ paraḥ //[2]

That is, sound is the product of the *ākāśa* i.e., ether or wind. The ether is known as the fine matter, but the ego is finer than the ether. Again *buddhi* or shining intelligence is finer than the ego, and, in the final analysis, it is seen that Ātman or the immortal Soul is finer than the intelligence. The contention of the *Mahābhārata* is that the causal sound or *nāda* is, consequently, the deathless Ātman, and all the gross phenomena evolved from it.

Mataṅga also described about the causal sound or *nāda*, from which music with all its manifestation evolved. He said that the *nāda* as the determinate (*saguṇa*) Brahman, shines as Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Maheśvara, the destroyer.

At any rate the *rāgas* evolved through the process of gradual evolution. As for example, from the pure type of the *jātirāgas*, the mixed *jātirāgas* evolved, from both these types of the *jātirāgas*, the *grāmarāgas* evolved, and from the *grāmarāgas* evolved and formalized *deśī-rāgas*.

In the beginning of the Classical Age (600-500 B.C.) and during the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), we find

2. तत्रैकगुण आकाशः शब्द इत्येव स स्मृतः ।
तस्य शब्दस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तरेण वह ण गुणान ॥
षड्जर्षभः गान्धारो मध्यमः पञ्चम स्मृतः ।
अतः परं तु विज्ञेयो निषादो धैवतस्तथा ॥
इष्टश्चानिष्टशब्दश्च संहतः प्रतिभानवान ।
एव वहुविधो ज्ञेयः शब्द आकाश-सम्भवः ॥
आकाशमुत्तमं भूतं अहंकारस्ततः परः ।
अहंकारात् परा वुद्धिः वुद्धेरात्मा ततः परः ॥
—महाभारत, आश्वमेधिकपर्व, ५३।५२-५५

that the *rāgas* (*jātirāgas*) had their seats or bases in the *grāmas*, *ṣadja*, *madhyama*, and *gāndhāra*. The *grāmas* formed out of the cluster of different sets of seven notes, were recognized at that time as the basic scales. The spanning of the notes (*mūrcchanās*) were also prevalent in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and we get the reference to them as '*sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau*'[3], etc. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.), we find that poet Kālidāsa (100 B.C.—400/450 A.D.) also mentioned the *grāmas* and *mūrcchanās* : '*mūrcchanāṃ vismaranti*'[4] or '*mūrcchanā-parigṛhīta kaiśikaiḥ*'[5], etc. Mallināth, the commentator, said about the *ślokas* as '*utsaṅge vā malina-vasane* * * *mūrcchanāṃ vismaranti*.'[6] He mentioned :

Ṣaḍja-madhyama-nāmānau grāmau gāyanti mānavāḥ /
Na tu gāndhāra-nāmānāṃ sa labhyo devayonibhiḥ //[7]

From the context of the *ślokas* it is understood that the *gāndhāra-grāma* used to be practised only by the Gandharvas and Kinnaras, the semi-divine music-loving people of the north-western region of India, and the three *grāmas* with their constituent twenty-one (3 × 7 = 21) *mūrcchanās* were prevalent during the time of Kālidāsa. Gradually the *grāmas* were replaced by the *mūrcchanās*, which were prevalent long before Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.). Afterwards the *mūrcchanās* were further replaced by the *melas* or *melakartās* during the time of the Paṇḍit Somanāth in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may be asked as to whether the *jātis* were the *rāgas* (melody-types) by themselves or not. But what is a '*rāga*' ? Bharata (second century A.D.) did not give any definition of a *rāga*,

3. स्थान-मूर्छनकोविदौ ।
4. मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ति ।
5. मूर्छना-परिगृहीत कैशिकैः ।
6. उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने * * मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ति (—उत्तरमेघ ६१)।
7. षड्ज-मध्यमनामानौ ग्रामौ गायन्ति मानवाः ।
न तु गान्धारनामानं स लभ्यो देवयोनिभिः ॥
—Vide also Prajñānānanda : *Saṅgīta-O-Saṁskṛti*, (Beng.), Vol. II, pp. 400-401.

though he mentioned the word *'rāga'* at least five times in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We get a clear definition of it in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddesī* in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He said that the sound, which tinges i.e., attracts and makes an impression upon the mind of the living beings, is known as *'rāga'* : *'rañjakò janachittānaṃ sa chà rāga udāhṛtaḥ.'* It has already been said that according to Kallināth, a *gīti* is called a *rāga*, when it is possessed of ten specific characteristics : *'daśalakṣaṇa-lakṣitaṃ gītaṃ rāga-śabdenābhidhiyate'*. The ten characteristic or essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*) are described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* as,

Grahāṁśau tāra-mandrau cha nyāsopanyāsa eva cha /
Alpatvaṃ cha vahutvaṃ cha ṣāḍavauḍavite tathā //[8]

The time of Bharata was undoubtedly an epoch-making one, as some fundamental laws and definite systems of Indian music were made with a fresh outlook for better or fuller realization of music. He adopted ten essentials which were the notes, initial, sonant, higher, lower, closing or concluding, medial, rare, abundant, hexatonic, and pentatonic. Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) also followed the scheme of the ten essentials. Some maintained different views, as we know from Śāraṅgadeva's statement : *'kāpītyeva-māhustrayodaśa'*,[9] adding three more, namely *saṁnyāsa*, *vinyāsa*, and *antaramārga*. But Kallināth said : *'yadyapi Bharata-Mataṅgādibhiḥ saṁnyāsa-vinyāsayorvidāryāśritatvād apanyāse'ntarbhāveṇāntara-mārgasya api aṁśādi-avayavānāmanyo * * pṛthaguddeśo nāpekṣita, iti daśakaṃ jāti-lakṣaṇamityuktam'*.[10] Kallināth's contention was that as Bharata, Mataṅga and other musicologists included *saṁnyāsa* and *vinyāsa* in the category of *apanyāsa*, and *atantaramārga* in that of *aṁśa*, so they were not regarded as separate essentials, and, therefore, ten essentials were accepted by all.

8. ग्रहांशौ तार-मन्द्रौ च न्यासोपन्यास एव च ।
अल्पत्वं च बहुत्वं च षाड़वौड़विते तथा ॥

9. कापीत्येवमाहस्त्रयोदश ।

10. यद्यपि भरत-मतङ्गादिभिः संन्यासबिन्यासयोर्बिदार्याश्रितत्वाद् अपन्यासेऽन्तर्भावेणान्तरमार्गस्य अपि अंशादि-अबयबानामन्यो * * पृथगुद्देशो नापेक्षित, इति दशकं जाति-लक्षणमित्युक्तम् ।

The essentials are the determining characteristics of the *rāgas*. Now, what do we mean by *graha* and *aṁśa* ? The word *graha* connotes the idea of the initial note, from where the manifestation of a *rāga* begins, or wherefrom the song or the part of the song takes its start : *'yat pravṛttam bhaved gānam'*,[11] whereas *aṁśa* denotes the dominant or sonant, where a *rāga* takes on its fuller manifestation and from where it begins : *'tatra aṁśo nāma * *, yasmin vasati rāgastu yasmācchaiva pravartate'*.[12] It should be remembered that Bharata took *graha* and *aṁśa* in the same sense, which is evident from his definition of both *graha* and *aṁśa* :

Grahastu sarva-jātināmaṁśa eva hi kīrtitaḥ /
Yat pravṛttaṃ bhaved-gānaṃ so'ṁśo grahavikalpitaḥ //[13]

It is also proved by the definition of the sonant itself : *'yasmin vasati rāgastu'* = *aṁśa*, and *'yasmācchaiva pravartate'* = *graha*.[14]

During the time of Mataṅga of the *Bṛhaddeśī*, we find some changes in the social environment as well as in the taste and temperament of the people. Mataṅga dealt with the problems of *graha* and *aṁśa* in a very ingenious way. He said that the starting note of the *jātirāga* is the initial or *graha* : *'tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo gṛhyate yena asau grahaḥ'*,[15] but it is not prominent like *aṁśa* : *'graha hi apradhānabhutaḥ'*, whereas the sonant, being universal and cause of the manifestation of *rāga*, is prominent : *'rāga-janakatvād vyāpakatvāccha aṁśasya eva prādhānyam'*.[16] Further, Mataṅga said that though the ancient authorities like Bharata and others considered both initial and prominent notes as essential for the *jātirāgas*, yet they were interpreted in relation to dominant and subordinate i.e., *saṁvādī* and *anuvādī*

11. यत् प्रवृत्तम भवेद गानम् ।
12. तत्र अंशो नाम * *, यस्मिन वसति रागस्तु यस्माच्चैव प्रवर्तते ।
13. ग्रहस्तु सर्वजातीनामंश एव हि कीर्तितः ।
    यत् प्रवृत्तं भवेदगानं सोऽशो ग्रह-विकल्पितः ॥
    These will separately be discussed.
14. यस्मिन वसति रागस्तु = अंश, and यस्माच्चैव प्रवर्तते = ग्रह ।
15. तत्रादौ जात्यादि-प्रयोगो गृह्यते येन असौ ग्रहः ।
16. रागजनकत्वाद् व्यापकत्वाच्च अंशस्य एव प्राधान्यम् ।

notes : '*yadyapi sarva-jātīnāṃ grahoṁśaścha pradhānībhū·a ityut-sarga-siddham, tathāpi saṁvādi-anuvādi-vidhinā chodyate*'. Gradually *aṁśa* became familiar with the new name of *vādī*, which means that which says about or manifests the *rāga* : '*vadanāt rāgajanakatvād vā vādī*'.[18]

The new nomenclature of the dominant note evolved perhaps during Mataṅga's time in the fifth-seventh century A.D., and both the terminologies, *aṁśa* and *vādī* were current in Śāraṅga-deva's time in the early thirteenth century A.D. Kallināth said that the word *vādī* conveyed the same idea of creating pleasing sensations as the word *aṁśa* did : '*sa vādī yogyatāvaśāt aṁśaḥ syāt, rakti-vyañjakatvāt*'.[19] But, yet, there was a difference between *aṁśa* and *vādī*, though Bharata used them in the same sense. He said : '*nanu aṁśo graha iti Bharatādeśena sarveṣu api aṁśa-dharmeṣu grahasya prāptaṃ, na kevalaṃ vāditvameva dharmaḥ, api tu vāditvādi-chatuṣṭayamapīti tayorbheda iti*'.[20] Siṃhabhupāla supported this view of Kallināth.

Again we find a peculiarity in the application of both initial and dominant notes in the *jātirāga*, as Bharata considered them as more than one. As for example, the *jātirāga*, *ṣāḍjī*, was possessed of three initial notes and three dominant notes, *ṣadja*, *madhyama* and *dhaivata*. Such was the case with other *jātirāgas*, both pure and mixed. The number of the initial and dominant notes might be considered as more than three, and, according to Bharata, the total number of the domi-nant notes, as used in the ancient *ṣaḍjagrāma* and *madhyamagrāma*, were 63 : '*dvai grāmakīnāṃ jātināṃ sarvāsāmapi * * aṁśa-stri-*

17. यद्यपि सर्वजातीनां ग्रहोंशश्च प्रधानीभूत इत्युत्सर्गसिद्धम्. तथापि संवादि-अनवादि-विधिना चोद्यते।

18. वदनात् रागजनकत्वाद वा वादी।

19. स वादी योग्यतावशात अंशः स्यात, रक्ति-व्यञ्जकत्वात।

20. ननु अंशो ग्रह इति भरतादेशेन सर्वेषु अपि अंशधर्मेषु ग्रहस्य प्राप्त', न केवलं वादित्वमेव धर्मः, अपि तु वादित्वादि-चतुष्टयमपीति तयोर्भेद इति।

ṣaṣṭhirvijñeyoḥ'.[21] That was the case with *graha* : *'chaiva tathā grahāḥ'*.[22]

We know from the cultural history of the ancient nations of the world that some of them, in the Near East and the West, adopted the scheme of the initial, final and dominant notes, in their systems of music; but it should be noticed that they rarely considered the same notes as both initial and dominant, as Bharata did, and there lies the fundamental difference between the system of Bharata and those of the foreign nations. Besides, there were other differences between the ancient system of Indian music and those of the Near East and the West.

We have already said that Bharata's scheme of *graha* of the *rāga* was modified in the later musicology, to some extent. Śāraṅgadeva did not admit Bharata's doctrine : *'tatra yaḥ svaro'ṁśaḥ sa eva grahaḥ'*.[23] He rather modified the scheme or system and said : *'tatra aṁśagrahayoranyataroktau ubhaya-grahaḥ'*,[24] (SR. 1.7.31). Kallināth made it explicit, when he said : *'yatra kvachit aṁśa eva uchyate—na grahaḥ, yatra cha graha eva uchyate—na tu aṁśaḥ'*.[25] So we find that the scheme of the essentials were modified from time to time to suit the system of music according to the taste and temperament of the changing society.

Regarding (3) *nyāsa* or concluding note, Bharata said : *'nyāso hi aṅga-samāptau'*.[26] The *aṅga* means 'part' or portion of the song or musical composition. That is, where the manifestation of a *rāga* or an *ālāpa* ends, it is called *nyāsa*. (4) The *apanyāsa* means the medial stop. Mataṅga said : *'yatra smāptamiva gītaṃ pratibhāsate so'panyāsaḥ'*.[27] The *apanyāsa* appears

21. ह्रै ग्रामकीनां जातीनां सर्वासामपि * * अंशस्त्रिषष्ठिर्विज्ञेयोः ।
22. चैव तथा ग्रहाः ।
23. तत्र यः स्वरोऽशः स एव ग्रहः ।
24. तत्र अंश-ग्रहयोरण्यतरोक्तौ उभयग्रहः ।
25. यत्र क्वचित अंश एव उच्यते—न ग्रहः, यत्र च ग्रह एव उच्यते—न तु अंशः ।
26. न्यासो हि अङ्गसमाप्तौ ।
27. यंत्र समाप्तमिव गीतं प्रतिभासते सोऽपन्यासः ।

in the *vidāri* or compositions of the songs. It forms generally the former part of the melody or song : '*aṅgamadhye apanyāsa eva syāt*'.[28] (5) The *saṁnyāsa* means a note which is not antagonistic to the sonant, and remains in the part of the composition of the song. (6) The *vinyāsa* note functions like the *saṁnyāsa*, but it remains in the latter part of the song. (7) The *alpatva* means rarity i.e., rare use of the note in the *rāga*. It is of two kinds, *anabhyāsa* and *laṅghana*. In *anabhyāsa-alpatva*, notes are dropped other than the sonance, and when the note rarely touches the composition of the *rāga*, it is called *laṅghana-alpatva* : '*svarāṇāṃ laṅghanāt anabhyāsāccha sakṛtucchāraṇaṃ*'.[29] (8) The *vahutva* means abundance of the notes, in the *rāga*. (9) The *antaramārga* generally avoids *nyāsa*, *apanyāsa*, *vinyāsa*, *saṁnyāsa*, *graha* and *aṁśa*, and from time to time incorporates the dual functions of the *alpatva*, mentioned above, in consonance with *aṁśa*, etc. (10) The *tāra* is the note of the higher octave (*saptaka*), and (11) the *mandra*, of the lower octave. (12) The *ṣāḍavatva* and (13) the *auḍavatva* i.e., hexatonic and pentatonic forms of the *rāgas* are constituted out of six and five notes respectively. These last two essentials constitute the patterns of the *rāgas*. Śāraṅgadeva adopted the scheme of ten essentials in *ālāpa* and *ālapti* for the manifestations (*āvirbhāva*) of the *rāgas*.

Now it is clear that the ten essentials, as devised or adopted by Bharata in the second century A.D., or the thirteen essentials, as adopted by some post-Bharata musicologists, were the determining characteristics of the *jātirāgas*, *grāmarāgas*, and *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, *antarabhāṣā*, and all kinds of *aṅga* and formalized *deśī-rāgas*. But after thirteenth-fourteenth century, they were not recognized as essential, and in the nineteenth-twentieth century, when there came a great change in the domain of North Indian classical music, the ten essentials

28. अङ्गमध्ये अपन्यास एव स्यात ।

29. स्वराणां लङ्घनात अनभ्यासाच्च सकृत-उच्चारणम् ।

have been, truly speaking, limited only to the theoretical knowledge of music.

Bharata also adopted the scheme of cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth for the determination of the *rāgas*. The same process is found in the Pythagorian system of music, that evolved in about 582-507 B.C. Pythagoras constructed his diatonic scale with the help of the series of fifths=F+C+G+D+A+E+B. Edward Macdowell said in his *Critical and Historical Essays* (1912) : 'It was said of Pythagoras that he had studied twelve years with the Magi in the temples of Babylon; had lived among the Druids of Gaul and the Indian Brahmins; had gone among the priests of Egypt, witnessed their most secret temple rites'. In ancient Greece, there were in use over fifteen different modes (scales), each one has common to the part of the country, in which it originated. At the time of Pythagoras there were seven modes in general, and each mode or scale was composed of two sets of 4 notes=4+4=8. Theodore M. Finney was of opinion that Pythagoras found the tone relationships of the octave, the fifth and the fourth, correspond to the numerical relationships 2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 2. He supposed that these three simple ratios were the basis of a principle which could be extended to define the intervals of the third, the sixth, and the second. Now cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, as observed by Pythagoras (about 582-591 B.C.), were exactly the same as the *ṣaḍja-pañchama* and *ṣaḍja-madhyama bhāvas*, adopted by Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in the second century A.D. Some are of the opinion that Bharata borrowed the scheme of cycles of the fifth and the fourth, together with that of the essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*)[30] from the Greek system, modified by Pythagoras. But it seems to be an assumptive view, as similar ideas might

30. The *daśa-lakṣaṇas* are the ten essentials that qualify and determine that real nature of the *rāgas*. The '*lakṣaṇa*' connotes the idea of a name or a thing. The derivative meaning of *lakṣaṇa* is 'लक्षणात तु अर्थदर्शणात' or 'लक्ष्यते ज्ञायतेऽनेन इति लक्षणम्' । That is, that which enlightens, is *lakṣaṇa*.

simultaneously evolve in two or more civilized countries. There is no genuine proof that one has been fashioned on the ideal or out of the materials of the other. Again from the history of the world it is known that there were many interchanges of ideas and cultures between different civilized countries of the East and the West. The fact of one country being benefited by the other, in the fields of art, science and culture, does not prove blind imitation of the one by the other. Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda said : 'The dawn of Aryan civilization broke for the first time on the horizon, not of Greece or Rome, not of Arabia or Persia, but of India, which may be called the motherland of metaphysics, philosophy, logic, astronomy, science, art, music and medicine, as well as of truly ethical science and religion. * * The Hindus first developed the science of music from the chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sāma-Veda was especially meant for music. And the scale with seven notes and three octaves was known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus. It will be interesting to you to know that Wagner was indebted to the Hindu science of music, especially for his principal idea of the 'leading motive'; and this is perhaps the reason why it is difficult for many Western people to understand Wagner's music. He became familiar with Eastern music through Latin

The Indian Logic defined it as 'इतरभेद-अनुमापकम् व्यवहार-प्रयोजकञ्च' । The *lakṣaṇa*, therefore, falls into the category that differentiates a thing at first, and then makes it known for our practical purpose. Bopadeva defined it as an '*abhijñānam*' or a kind of knowledge that manifests an object. Therefore *lakṣaṇa* is known as a determining principle that constitutes an inherent and indispensible part of an object. It assumes the aspects of both qualitative relation and qualify itself, that make an object known what really it is, and this is the psychological value and logical concept of a *lakṣaṇa* of a thing or an object. Bharata described ten *lakṣaṇas* in the *Nātyaśāstra* to determine the *jātis* as the *rāgas* which please and soothe the hearts of men and animals.

translations, and his conversation on this subject with Schopenhauer is probably already familiar to you'.[31]

Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (first century A.D.) mentioned ten determining qualities (*daśa-guṇas*) of the *gītis* and not of the *rāgas*. Śāraṅgadeva also described these ten qualities in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (vide SR. 4. 373-378), and specially laid stress upon the qualities, *mādhuryaṃ* or *madhuraṃ* (sweetness) and *lāvaṇya* (lustre), which intensify the power of the *gītis* or *rāgas* that please and soothe the minds of the people : '*madhuraṃ dhūrya-lāvaṇya-pūrṇaṃ janamanoharaṃ*'.[32] Now, it should be mentioned in this connection that Mataṅga expounded seven types of song or *gīti* in terms of the melodies or *rāgas*, and they were : *śuddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, gauḍī, rāga, sādhāraṇi, bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. At that time (fifth-seventh century), it was the custom to describe the *rāgas* in terms of the *gītis* and vice versa, and though Nārada determined ten qualities of the *gītis* and not of the clearly defined *rāgas*, yet it should be understood that the qualities were meant for the *rāgas*. Now all these ten qualities, together with the ten characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) determine the intrinsic nature of a *rāga*.

Did these qualities and characteristics exist in the *jātis*, as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ? Vālmīki said :

Pāṭhye geye cha madhuraṃ pramāṇai stribhiranvitam /
Jātibhiḥ saptabhiryuktaṃ tantrī-laya-samanvitam //
Rasaiḥ śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-hasya-raudra-bhayānakaiḥ /
Vīrādibhir-rasairyuktaṃ kāvyametadgāyatām //
Tau tu gāndharva-tattajñau sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau /
Bhrātarau svara-sampannau gāndharvāvivarūpiṇau //[33]

31. Vide Swāmī Abhedānanda : *India and Her People* (1940), pp. 216, 221.

32. मधुरं धूर्य-लावण्य-पूर्णं जन-मनोहरम् ।

33. पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरं प्रमाणैस्त्रिभिरन्वितम् ।
जातिभिः सप्तभिर्युक्तं तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितम् ॥
रसैः शृङ्गारकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभि रसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतद्गायताम् ॥

Both the commentaries *Śiromaṇi* and *Govinda* state that the seven *jātis* were pure (*śuddha*) in their types. They also quote the citation of the great authority, Śāṇḍilya who said :

Sarva-gīta-samādhāro jātirityabhidhīyate //[34]
Ṣāḍjī chāvatha naiṣādī dhaivatī pañchamī tathā /
Mādhyamī chaiva gāndhārī saptamī tvārṣabhī matā /

That is, pure type of seven *jātis*, as described by Vālmīki, were *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī*, *gāndhārī*, *mādhyamī*, *pañchamī*, *dhaivatī* and *naiśādī*. They had their full play in the three octaves, bass, medium and high. They were possessed of *mūrcchanās*, three registers, rhythm and tempo, and eight emotional sentiments and moods. Regarding '*pāṭhya*'[35], Abhinavagupta said in his commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī* that when the composition (*sāhitya*) is possessed of six *alaṁkāras*, like seven *deśī* (*laukika*) notes, three octaves, four *varṇas*, two kinds of *kāku*, *sākāṁkṣā* (with motive) and *nirākāṁkṣā* (without motive), eight æsthetic sentiments, and high and low intonations, it is called '*pāṭhya*' or '*geya*': '*svara-sthāna-varṇa-kākkalaṁkā-rāṅgāni ṣat atrālaṁkāra-śabdena vivakṣitāni, etairhi bhūṣitaṃ kāvya-pāṭhyamuchyate*'.[36] To determine the etymological significance of the word '*pāṭhya*', he said:

तौ तु गान्धर्वतत्तज्ञौ स्थानमूर्छनकोविदौ ।
भ्रातरौ स्वरसम्पन्नौ गान्धर्वाविवरूपिनौ ॥
रूपलक्षणसंम्पन्नौ मधूरस्वरभाषिणौ ।

34. सर्वगीत समाधारो जातिरित्यभिधीयते ।
पाड्‌जी चावथ नैषादी धैवती पञ्चमी तथा ।
माध्यमी चैव गान्धारी सप्तमी त्वार्षभी मता ॥

35. Regarding '*pāṭhya*', the commentator stated : 'तेन पाठे गाने चेत्यर्थः', i.e., *pāṭha* means *gāna* or song. It means composition too.

36. (क) स्वरस्थानवर्णकाक्कलंकाराङ्गानि षट अत्रालंकारशब्देन विवक्षितानि, एतैर्हि भूषितं काव्य-पाठ्यमुच्यते ।

(ख) अत एवाह पाठ्यगुणानिति गुणाः उपकारकाः, यदुपकृतं काव्यं पाठ्यं भवतीत्यर्थः । * * यदि हि स्वरगतारक्तिः पाठ्ये प्राधान्येनावलम्बेत तदा गानक्रियासौ स्यात, न पाठः । पूर्णस्वरत्वाभावादङ्गानां भेद इति चेत, न, अपूर्णस्वरत्वेऽपि गानत्वप्रतिज्ञानात, षाड़वौड़वितयोः त्रिचतुरस्वरत्वेऽपि गानप्रतीतिभवत्येव * * ।

'svarāṇāṃ yadrakti-pradhānatvamanuraṇanamayaṃ tattyāgenoccha-nīcha-madhyama-sthāna-sparśita-mātraṃ pāṭhyopayogīti darśitam. Yadi hi svaragatā raktiḥ', etc.[37] From this it is understood that when the combination of notes, underlying *jāti* or *pāṭhya*, contains the propensity of creating pleasing and soothing sensations in the minds of living beings, it is known as a *'rāga'*. There remain the vibrating waves of the sweet sounds (*anuraṇana vṛtti* or *śakti*), in the *rāga*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* described the intrinsic nature and power of the *jātis* :

Tau chāpi madhuraṃ raktaṃ sva-chittāyataniḥsvanaṃ //
Tantrī-laya-vadatyarthaṃ viśrutārthamagāyatāṃ /
Hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni cha /
Śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ geyaṃ tadubhau jana-saṁsadi //[38]

Here the words *'madhuraṃ'*, *'raktaṃ'*, *'hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni cha'*, *'śrotrāśrayaṃ sukhaṃ'*, *'śrotṛnāṃ harṣa-vardhanaṃ'*, etc. clearly express the same meaning as *'rajyate yena yaḥ kaśchit'*,[39] *'rañjako jana-chittānāṃ'*,[40] etc., mentioned by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī*.

Regarding the last *śloka* of the first canto of the fourth chapter of RM.: *'hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāṁsi hṛdayāni cha'*, the commentary *Śiromaṇi* stated : *'śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ śrotraṃ karṇa-saṅkuli āśrayo yasya tacchrotrāśrayaṃ śrotrendriyaṃ tasya sukhaṃ yasmāt tat. Sarva-gātrāni nikhilāvayavān manāṁsi hṛdayāni* * *

37. (क) स्वराणां यद्रक्तिप्रधानत्वमनुरणनमयं तत्त्यागेनोच्चनीचमध्यमस्थानस्पर्शित-मात्रं पाठ्योपयोगीति दर्शितम्। यदि हि स्वरगता रक्तिः * *।
(ख) रक्तिप्रधानत्वमनुरणनमयम्।

38. तौ चापि मधुरं रक्तं स्वचित्तायतनिःस्वनं।
तन्त्रीलयवदत्यर्थं विश्रुतार्थमगायतां।
ह्लादयत्सर्वगात्रानि मनांसि हृदयानि च।
श्रोत्राश्रयसुखं गेयं तदुभौ जनसंसदि।

39. रज्यते येन यः कश्चित्।

40. (क) रञ्जको जनचित्तानां।
(ख) रञ्जनाज्जायते रागः।

hlādayat geyaṃ gānam', etc.[41] The commentary *Bhuṣaṇa* also admitted : * * *hlādayat sukhayat śrotrāśraya-sukhaṃ śrotraṃ karṇa-śaṅkuli tadāśrayaṃ śrotrendriyaṃ tat sukhaṃ * * geyaṃ gānaṃ * *.*[42] From these statements it appears that the *jātis*, as mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were no other than the *rāgas*. Some are of the opinion that the pleasing and soothing capacities are not the only qualities for determining the nature of the *rāgas*, but ten characteristics like initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*), etc. notes are also necessary, together with the harmonic relations or consonance (*svara-samvāda*) between the notes, first and fourth (*ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*), and first and fifth (*ṣaḍja* and *pañchama*). But the ten characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) of a *rāga*, as devised or discoursed by Bharata, are of later origin (second century A.D.). Previously i.e. before the Christian era, the nature of melodies were known or determined by the qualities (*daśa-guṇas*), as described by Nārada of the *Śikṣā*.[43] They were known as pleasing and soothing propensities. Kallināth admitted that as the *grāmarāgas* are possessed of *tinging* i.e. pleasing quality, they are known as *rāgas* : '*tāsāmapi rañjanāt rāgatvaṃ cha voddhavyaṃ*'.[44]

The notes of the *rāgas* are also composed of some pitches, having pleasing sweet vibrations (*anuraṇana*), and each note is possessed of some æsthetic sentiments that bring life to the *rāgas*. As for example, *ṣaḍja* induces the heroic (*veera*), furious (*raudra*) and amazing (*adbhuta*) emotions, *ṛṣabha* has an appeal to the emotion of fearfulness (*bhayānaka*), *gāndhāra* appeals to the sense of pathos or *karuṇa*, *madhyama* and *pañchama* appeal to the sentiment of the basic creative impulse (*śṛṅgāra*) or the

41. श्रोत्राश्रय-सुखं श्रोत्रं कर्नशङ्कुलि आश्रयो यस्य तच्छ्रोत्राश्रयं श्रोत्रेन्द्रियं तस्य सुखं यस्मात तत्। सर्वगात्रानि निखिलावयवान मनांसि हृदयानि * * ह्लादयत गेयं गानम्।

—शिरोमणिटीका

42. ह्लादयत सुखयत श्रोत्राश्रयसुखं श्रोत्रं कर्णशङ्कुलि तदाश्रयं श्रोत्रेन्द्रियं तत सुखं * * गेयं गानं।

—भूषणटीका।

43. Śāraṅgadeva also described these ten qualities of the *rāga*, in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, IV. 373-378.

44. तासामपि रञ्जनात् रागत्वं च वोद्धव्यम्।

humorous (*hāsya*), etc. Nārada described five kinds of subtle notes which form the genus of the later evolved twenty-two microtones (*śrutis*), as described by Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme was the source of the living emotions of the *rāgas*.

Indian music possesses a spirit of its own. It is synthetic and contemplative, so its tendency is inwarding and concentrating. The microtones are the basic constituents of the seven tones, and Dattila called them *avadhānà* or rapt attention, to be used in the *gāndharva-gāna*. The microtones are saturated with emotional sentiments (*rasas*), and though they create different moods in different settings of notes, yet are balanced in a concentrated peaceful state that brings the divergent modifications of the mind to meditation, leading to the attainment of Godconsciousness. The *rāgas* are, in truth, the different settings of living emotions that work as means to an end. The permanent (*sthāyī*) *varṇas* of the *rāgas* and the *alaṁkāras*, like *prasannādi*, *prasannānta*, etc. create *prasāda* or calmness of mind, which promises the sincere artists and lovers of music permanent peace and tranquil happiness even in this earth, which is full of sorrows and tears.

Now, from this viewpoint it will not be an unreasonable hypothesis that both the prehistoric and Vedic music were possessed of qualities like *madhura*, *rakta*, *prasanna*, etc. and æsthetic sentiments, which used to create pleasing and inspiring sensations in the mind of the living beings. The tunes of the simple stringed lute or *Veeṇā* and crude flute, discovered from the mounds of the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, had in them the charming power and pleasing quality. The flutes, lutes and drums used to accompany the vocal music which was much more developed than the ancient primitive music of the savage nations. In the Vedic time, music was cultured with five notes, and different combinations of them used to create some tonal designs or forms, which might have been known as melodies. The Vedic music had its own grammar which was divided into *Śikṣā* and *Prātiśakhya*. It used to observe the rules and methods for singing and chanting

the *sāmagānas*, and for that purpose it used different metres, registers, rhythms and tempi as well as different emotional sentiments. So it can be said that though the prehistoric and Vedic music were not possessed of the sonant-consonant (*vādī-samvādī*) relation and the scheme of ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) that evolved in later time, yet they were not devoid of pleasing melodic patterns. Let us, therefore, leave this very controversial matter to be discussed by the future historians of music.

This much is quite certain that there were melody-types or *rāgas* in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), which were in the form of *jātis*. They were known as the basic *rāgas*. In the *Mahābhārata* and *Khila-Harivaṁśa*, we find some inscriptions of the *grāmarāgas* which evolved from the *jātis* or *jatirāgas* : '*jāti-sambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāni*'. Perhaps there were six main *grāma-rāgas* ('*ṣaḍgrāmarāgādi-samādhi-yuktaṃ*'), and they used to be played in the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* (*ā-gāndhāra-grāma-rāgaṃ gaṅgāvataranaṃ tathā*'). A reference to Brahmā *or* Brahmābharata, the first promulgator of classical *gāndharva* type of music, can be traced in Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*[45] and Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*.[46] Brahmā said that there were only five *grāmarāgas*, used as stage-songs (*nātyagītis*), and they were: *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, *sādhārita*, *kaiśika-madhyama* and *kaiśika*.[47] The time of Brahmābharata is ascribed to 600-500 B.C. During the time of *Mahābhārata-Harivaṁśa* (300-200 B.C.) the *grāmarāga*, *ṣāḍava* probably evolved and was added to the group of the five *grāmarāgas*. In the *Nāradīśikṣā*, we find

45. Vide *NS.* (*Kāśī* ed.), 32.453-454.

46. Vide *Bṛhaddeśī* (Travancore ed.), p. 87.

47. मुखे तु मध्यमग्रामः षड्जं प्रतिमुखे स्मृतः ।
साधारितं तथा गर्भे मर्शे कैशिकमध्यमः ॥
कैशिकञ्च तथा कार्यं गानं निर्वहणे बुधैः ।
सान्धवृत्ताश्रयश्चैव रसभावसमन्वितः ॥

This *śloka* has been quoted by Mataṅga in his *Bṛhaddeśī* in a different way, and Mataṅga mentioned the name of Ḍṛuhina-Brahmā, as its compilor.

again the seven *grāmarāgas*, which were current even in the seventh-ninth century A.D., as evidenced by the Kuḍimiyāmalai Cave Inscription of South India. Dr. Kṛṣṇasvāmī Aiyangār admitted it in his *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (1942)*. He said : 'Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the great Śiva Temple at Kuḍimiyāmalai in the Pudukkottāi state so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion'. Kuḍimiyāmalai literally means the hill of Him who has the Śikhā. It is the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple near the Melaikkovil. 'This huge inscription', said R. Sathyanārāyaṇa, 'is engraved on a rock on the slope of the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple. The end-signs and some of the last letters of the lines of the final sections of the inscription are obscured by the rock-cut *maṇḍapaṃ* in front of the Melaikkovil, but otherwise the writing in the *pallvagrantha* characters, containing all the headings and the colophon in *saṁskṛta* except a line in *tāmil* at the end. It contains quadruple groupings of musical notes pertaining to the seven archaic *śuddhagrāmarāgas—madhyamagrāma, ṣaḍjagrāma, sādhārita, pañchama, kaiśika-madhyama* and *kaiśika* in vogue in ancient India. * * Unfortunately, a similar inscription at Tirumayyam near Padukkottāi was erased in greater part at a later period and is now almost in an undecipherable condition. * * The inscription is believed to have been composed in the seventh century A.D. on the strength of scriptoroal and other evidence. Its author is generally believed to be Mahendra Vikrama Varman I of the Pallavas. Though the inscription was discovered as early as in 1904 and edited by P. R. Bhandarkar in 1914 with commentary with the help of an estampage supplied by the late Rāo Shāheb H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, only an occasional or a casual study of the inscription has been made till now'.

R. Sathyanārāyaṇa of Mysore Brothers further said : 'The inscription of the seven *grāmarāgas* is divided into seven sections, 'each subdivided into a number of *ākṣiptikās*. Each *ākṣiptikā* is in a horizontal line, the notes being arranged in quadruple

groupings. Each *ākṣiptikā* concludes with an end-sign. Fifteen of these are lost. * * The total usage of musical notes in the inscription is 2432. But of these 54 are not available. However 19 out of these missing notes may be guessed as follows : sa-3, ri-2, ga (*antara-gāndhāra*)-2, ma-4, pa-3, dha-3 and ka (*kaiśika-niṣāda*)-2. The frequency of usage of the musical notes in the inscription is in the following order :

I. Ṣaḍja—sa, se, su, si.
II. Madhyama—mu, mi, me, ma.
III. Dhaivata—dhe, dhu, dhi, dha.
IV. Ṛṣabha—ra, ru, ri, re.
V. Pañchama—pu, pe, pi, pa.
VI. Niṣāda—ne, na (nu, ni).
VII. Gāndhāra—gi, ga, se, gu.
VIII. Antara (gāndhāra)—u, a, e,—
IX. Kākali (niṣāda)—ke, ku, ka,—.'[48]

The names of the seven notes, used in the inscription, are : *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañchama*, *dhaivata*, *niṣāda* and two *vikṛta* notes, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākali-niṣāda*.

It should be remembered that though we find the seven *grāmarāgas*, in the *Nāradīśikṣā*, yet they were, in truth, six in number. Bhattaśobhākara, the commentator is of opinion that the *grāmarāgas*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama*, as described by the *Nāradīśikṣā*, are, in reality, one and the same *rāga*, but, because of different adjustments of notes, *madhyama* and *pañchama*, they appear as different. As for example, when in the *grāmarāga*, *kaiśika*, the fourth note *madhyama* is used as a final note (*nyāsa-svara*), it is known as *kaiśika-madhyama*, and when *pañchama* is used as the dominant or sonant and *niṣāda* as *kākali*, it is called *kaiśika*.[49] Besides, the tonal arrangements of both the *grāmarāgas* and the *rāgas* are the same, and they

48. Vide R. Sathyanārāyaṇa of Mysore Brothers : *Kuḍimiyāmalai Inscription on Music* (Mysore, 1957), p. 82, and Preface

49. (क) कैशिकं भावयित्वा तु स्वरैः सवैः समन्ततः ।
यस्मात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तस्मात कैशिकमध्यमः ॥

have evolved from *madhyama-grāma*, the ancient basic scale. So, if we consider the *grāmarāgas*, *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama* as one and the same, the number seven, as mentioned in the *Nāradiśikṣā*, becomes consistent with the six *grāmarāgas* ('*saḍgrāmarāgādi*'), as mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*. Besides it, as the *sādhārita* is known as *ṣaḍja-sādhāraṇa* and the *kaiśika* as '*madhyama-sādhāraṇa*', so we may consider the *kaiśika* as *kaiśika-madhyama*. But it should be remembered that even during the times of *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, the *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were practised with the *brahmagītis* and the *kapālagītis*, devised by the greatest playwright and musicologist, Brahmā or Brahmābharata of the pre-Christian era.

The nature and the forms of the *jātirāgas* have been discussed elaborately by Muni Bharata in a new and novel way. During his time, the seven *jātirāgas* were developed into eighteen. With the mixture of seven pure (*śuddha*) *jātirāgas*, he designed eleven more. He called them mixed i.e. *vikṛta* or *saṁkīrṇa jātirāgas*. In the last chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he mentioned some *grāmarāgas*. He designated the *jātis* as '*rāgas*' and the evidence of it is found at least five times in different chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He said : (a) '*jātirāgaṃ śrutiśchaiva*' (*Kāśī* ed. 28.55) ;[50] (b) '*yasmin vasanti rāgāstu*' (28.72) ;[51] (c) '*kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ*' (29.4) ;[52] (d) '*karuṇe tu rase kārye jātigāne*'

काकलिर्दृश्यते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य तु ।
कश्यपः कैशिकं प्राह मध्यमग्रामसम्भवम् ॥

(ख) Bhattaśobhākara said :

पूर्वोक्तकैशिकं यदा सर्वैः स्वरैर्भाव्यते योज्यते मध्यमादुपक्रम्यते मध्यमे च न्यस्यते तत्र स्थाप्यते तदा कैशिकमध्यमो ग्रामरागो भवतीति मध्यमग्रामादुत्पन्नस्य काकलिरेव श्रुतिको निषादो भवति पञ्चमस्य प्राधान्यं पुनःपुनरुच्चारणं शेषाणि स्वरान्तराणि सामान्येन वर्तते । तदा मध्यमग्रामसंभवं कैशिकं कश्यपऋषिराह ।

50. जातिरागं श्रुतिश्चैव (२८।५५)
51. यस्मिन् वसन्ति रागास्तु (२४।७२)
52. कर्तव्या जातिगाने प्रयत्नतः (२९।४)

(29.6) ;[53] (e) *'adbhute tu rase kārye jātigāne'* (29.9),[54] etc. The *jātigāna* means the *jātirāga-gāna*. The terms *'gāna'* and *'gīti'* are used here for *'rāga'*. The *jātis* or *jātirāgas* were sung with eight emotional sentiments, four *varṇas*, different music-parts (*dhātus*) rhythm and tempo (*tāla* and *laya*). They were determined by ten characteristics like initial (*graha*), sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*) notes : *'evametat yathā-jāti daśakaṃ jātilakṣaṇam'*.[55]

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti and others described the nature and the forms of different formalized *deśī-rāgas*. Mataṅga followed Bharata in many respects. He called the *jātis* as *rāgas*, when he determined the sonant, consonant, and dissonant (notes) of the *jātis*. He said :

(a) *'* * asmin sthāne kriyamānaḥ ṣaḍja jātirāgahā na bhavet'.*
(b) *'evam ṛṣabha-dhaivatayoḥ sthāne dhaivatarṣabhau jātirāga-vināśakarau na bhavataḥ'.*
(c) *'* * svarūpaṃ bhajan jātirāgahā na bhavati'* etc.[56]

From these it is clear that the *jātis* are no other than the basic melody-types or *rāgas*, and they are fully possessed of ten determining characteristics (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*) and ten pleasing qualities, (*daśa-guṇas*) like *madhura, rakta, prasanna*, etc.

The *jātirāga*, said Śāraṅgadeva, evolved from the materials of the Vedic music, the *sāmans* and it was sacred like the Vedic music : *'tathā sāma-samudbhūta jātayo veda-sammataḥ'*.[57] Śāraṅga-deva said that the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of *jātirāga-gāna* was sacred like the Vedic music, as it purifies sins and demerits, originating even from the killing of the Brāhmiṇs : *'api brahma-hananaṃ'*. The ancient musicologists said that music which

53. करुणे तु रसे कार्ये जातिगाने (२६।६)
54. अद्भुते तु रसे कार्ये जातिगाने (२६।६)
55. एवमेतत् यथा जाति दशकं जातिलक्षणम् । — नाट्यशास्त्र
56. (क) अस्मिन् स्थाने क्रियमाणः षड्ज जातिरागहा न भवेत् ।
(ख) एवम् ऋषभ-धैवतयोः स्थाने धैवतर्षभौ-जातिराग-विनाशकरौ न भवतः ।
(ग) * * स्वरूपं भजन जातिरागहा न भवति ।
57. तथा साम-समुद्भुत जातयो वेदसम्मतः । — सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर

was searched for and collected and designed in a new pattern, according to new method, was known as '*mārga*' ('*mṛg*'—*anveṣane*), and it was also known as '*gāndharva*', because it was very favourite to the semi-divine Gandharvas. Nārada defined the word '*gāndharva*' as,

Geti geyaṃ viduḥ prājñā dheti kāru-pravādanaṃ /
Veti vādyasya samjñeyaṃ gāndharvasya virochanaṃ //[58]

Bhattaśobhākara clarified it, when he commented on the *śloka* : '*ga-śabdena gānaṃ lakṣyayate, dha-kāreṇa va-kāreṇa vaiṇikasya pravādanaṃ, chāturyena hastāṅguli-dhāraṇaṃ pravādana-padena kathite va-kāreṇa vādanaṃ lakṣitaṃ*'.[59] That is, by the word '*ga*' song is meant, by '*dha*' the practice of flute or pipe, by '*ya*' placing the fingers on the holes of the flute (*veṇu*), and the word '*va*' signifies the practice of musical instruments. Therefore *gāndharva* means music and its process of singing, accompanied by flute. Bharata also defined the word '*gāndharva*' in the same sense, though he interpreted it in a different way. He said that the combination of *svara, tāla*, and *pada* gave rise to the *gāndharva* type of music : '*gāndharvamiti vijñeyaṃ svara-tāla-padāśrayaṃ*'.[60] These three constituents, *svara*, *tāla*, and *pada* were composed of many other constituents like :

(a) *svara*—notes, microtones, *grāmas*, *mūrcchanās*, registers, eighteen *jātis*, *varṇas*, etc.

(b) *tāla*—*āvāpa*- *niṣkrāma*, *śamyā*, etc.

(c) *pada*—*vyañjana*, *sandhi*, *vibhakti*, etc.

It should be remembered that the *jātis* or *jātirāgas* played an important role in the *gāndharva* type of music. The *gāndharva* was enriched by the *gītis*, like *dhruvā*, *bhrahma*,

58. गेति गेयं विदुः प्राज्ञा धेति कारुप्रवादनं ।
वेति वाद्यस्य संज्ञेयं गान्धर्वस्य विरोचनं ॥ —नारदीशिक्षा

59. ग-शब्देन गानं लक्ष्ययते, ध-कारेण व-कारेण वैणिकस्य प्रवादनं, चातुर्येन हस्ताङ्गुलिधारणं प्रवादन-पदेन कथिते व-कारेण वादनं लक्षितं ।
—भट्टशोभाकर (शिक्षासंग्रहः, पृ० ४१०)

60. गान्धर्वमिति विज्ञेयं स्वर-ताल-पदाश्रयं ।
—नाट्यशास्त्र

kapāla, *kambala*, *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *prithulā* and *sambhāvitā*. Mataṅga said,

Rāga-mārgasya yadrūpaṃ yannoktaṃ Bharatādibhiḥ |
Nirūpyate tadāsmābhirlakṣya-lakṣaṇa-saṁyutaṃ ||[61]

The portion '*yannoktaṃ bharatādibhiḥ*' does not mean that Bharata and his followers, Kohala, Yāṣtika and others did never mention '*rāga*', but it means that they mentioned and also used it in their system of music and fully knew its significance, though they did not define the word '*rāga*' properly. Mataṅga interpreted the seven *rāgas* in terms of seven types of *gīti*, and they were : *śuddhā*, *vinnā* or *vinnakā*, *gauḍī* or *gauḍikā*, *rāga*, *sādhāraṇī*, *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. There are differences of opinion among the ancient musicologists like Yāṣtika, Bharata, Śārdula, Durgāśakti and others, regarding numbers and names of the *gītis*, though Mataṅga mentioned them in his *Bṛhaddeśī* : '*sapto-gītyo mayā proktā idānīṃ bheda uchyate*'.[62]

Mataṅga determined the characteristics of the *rāga* ('*idānīṃ sampra-vakṣyāmi rāga-lakṣaṇamuttamaṃ*') and said that the seven *rāgagītis* differ in their manifestations and æsthetic values due to different settings of microtones and tones. As for example,

Mandrā mandraiścha tāraiścha ṛjubhirlalitaiḥ samaiḥ |
Svaraiścha śrutibhiḥ pūrṇa chokṣā gīti-rudrāhṛta ||[63]

Again he mentioned the *rāgas*, evolved out of these *rāgagītis*, *bhinnā*, etc. He said that five *rāgas* evolved from the *bhinnā*, three from the *gauḍī*, eight from the *rāga*, seven from the *sādhāraṇī*, sixteen from the *bhāṣā*, and twelve evolved from the *vibhāṣā*.[64] That is, the numbers of the *rāgas* evolved were

61. रागमार्गस्य यद्‌रूपं यन्नोक्तं भरतादिभिः।
निरूप्यते तदास्माभिर्लक्ष्य-लक्षण-संयुतं ॥ —वृहद्देशी
62. सप्त-गीत्यो मया प्रोक्ता इदानीं भेद उच्यते। —वृहद्देशी
63. मन्द्रा मन्द्रैश्च तारैश्च ऋजुभिर्ललितैः समैः।
स्वरैश्च श्र तिभिः पूर्ण चोक्षा गीतिरुद्राहृत ॥ —वृहद्देशी
64. पञ्च चोक्षाः समाख्यातास्तत्प्रमाणाश्च भिन्नका ॥
गौड़ास्त्रयस्तु कथिता रागाश्चाष्टौ प्रकीर्तिताः।

5+3+8+7+16+12=51. The following *rāgas* evolved from the *rāgagītis*.

- I. Bhinnā—*ṣāḍava, pañchama, kaiśīka-madhyama, sādhārita* and *kaiśīka*=5
- II. Gauḍī—*bhinna-ṣaḍja, bhinna-kaiśīka-madhyama* and *bhinna-pañchama*=3
- III. Rāga—*ṭhaku* or *takka, sauvira, mālava-pañchama, ṣāḍava, botta, hindolaka* or *hindola, thakka-kaiśīka,* and *mālava-kaiśīka*=8
- IV. Sādhāraṇī—*śaka, kakubha hārmāṇa-pañchama, rūpa-śādhārita, gāndhāra-pañchama* and *ṣaḍja-kaiśīka*=7

Mataṅga did not mention the *bhāṣā-rāgas,* evolved out of the three other *rāgagītis*. Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) differed from him and said that *grāmarāgas* are of five kinds and they are accompanied by five *gītis*. As the *gītis* are sung with the help of the *grāmarāgas*, they are known as the '*rāgagītis*'. The five *rāgagītis* are : *śuddhā, bhinnā gauḍī, vesarā* and *sādhāraṇī*, and thirty *grāmarāgas* evolved from these five *gītis*. Siṁhabhupāla also admitted it, and said: '*militā grāmarāgāstriṁśat*'.

Bharata formulated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* four *varṇas* and different *alaṃkāras* for fuller manifestation of the *gītis*, and, consequently, of the *rāgas*. Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgadeva and other musicologists also adopted the scheme and method of Bharata with some changes in their interpretations and meanings. The four *varṇas* are : *ārohī, avarohī, sthāyī* and *sañchārī*, and *alaṁkāras*, like *prasannādi, prasannānta*, etc. were added to them. Bharata said that the *varṇas* are constructed out of the notes, which are saturated with emotional sentiments, and they are meant for the songs (*gītayojaka*). The *ārohī* and *avarohī varṇas* are so called because their component notes are possessed of movements, upward and downward respectively. When the notes remain as constant and unchanging ('*sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā*

सप्त साधारणाः प्रोक्ता भाषाश्चैवात्र षोड्शः ॥
द्वादशैव विभाषाः स्यान्नामानि च निबोध मे ।
—बृहद्देशी (त्रिवान्द्रम सं), पृ० ८४

yatra'),[65] they are called as '*sthāyī*', and when they move, they are known as '*sañchārī*'. These four *varṇas* appear in three different registers (*sthānas*), bass, medium, and high (*mandra*, *madhya*, and *tāra*), and their intonations and volumes of sounds manifest according to those registers ('*tristhāna-guṇa-gochara*').[66] The *sthāyī-varṇa* is a symbol of peace and balance, and the *alaṁkāras* like *praśannādi*, *prasannāntas*, *prasannādyanta*, *prasannamadya*, *krama*, *rechita*, *prastāra* and *prasāda* are included in it. The word '*prasāda* means 'calmness of the mind', which originates from the basic sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*. The word *śṛṅgāra* is generally mistranslated as a sex urge, but it really conveys the idea of primal creative impulse or will, which is philosophically known as the Cosmic Will or Prakṛti. In Tantra literature, it is known as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, the coiling or unmanifested causal energy. The *sthāyī varṇas* are mostly used in the Vedic songs like *stotra*, *gāthā*, and *gānas* like *araṇyegeya*, *grāmegeya*, etc. with *stobhas* or *stobhākṣaras*, and in the classical type of *dhruvapada prastobhas*, used to create some majestic and peaceful atmosphere.

bandha gītis. The *sthāyī-varṇas* of the Vedic music, together with

Now what does the *alaṁkāra*, *prasannādi* of the *sthāyī-varṇa* mean? Bharata said that the *alaṁkāra*, *prasannādi* is that which makes the notes gradually shining: '*kramaśa dīptito yaḥ syāt*'.[67] The words '*kramaśa dīptitaḥ*' convey the idea of degrees of intensity in the act of shining, and these degrees are the gradations of sound volumes or sound waves from lesser to higher pitch. The tonic, *ṣaḍja* is the navel or primal tone of evey kind of *alaṁkāra*, and it helps gradually to manifest the other consecutive six notes, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañchama*, *dhaivata*, and *niṣāda* in the first *alaṁkāra*, *prasannādi*. In this process, the number of vibrations of the tonal sounds grows more and more greater and higher, so that the pitch-value of the note, *ṛṣabha* is higher than that of the note *ṣaḍja*,

65. स्थिराः स्वराः समा यत्र ।
66. त्रिस्थान-गुणगोचर ।
67. क्रमश दीप्तितो यः स्यात् ।

and the pitch-value of *gāndhāra* is higher than that of *ṛṣabha*, and so on. This process is found in the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*, where the evolutions of the Vedic notes, *kruṣṭa*, *prathama dvitīya*, etc. are explained. In the 13th aphorism of the *Prātiśākhya*, it is said : '* * *teṣāṃ dīptijñopalabdhīḥ*'.[68] The commentator Somāchārya made it explicit when he said : '*teṣāṃ khalu sapta-yamānāṃ uttarottara-dīptijā pūrva-pūrvopalabdhiḥ syāt*',[69] etc. Prof. W. D. Whitney explained it in a different way and said that the word '*dīpti*' indicates 'the source of light'. But Prof. Whitney, we think, failed to appreciate the true significance of the word *dīpti*, because *dīpti* really signifies the idea of light which means realization of the value of the notes. To make it clear it can be said that the second note is realized with its pitch-value or intensity from the first one, the third one from the second one, the fourth from the third one, and so on. Such is the case with the notes of the formalized regional classical (*deśī*) music.

The note *ṣaḍja* bears the significance of giving birth (i.e. making shining) to other six notes : '*sat jāyate yaṣmāt*'. It should be remembered that the seven notes manifest in the *prasannādi-alaṁkāra* and are uttered in connected way, and not separately, e.g. sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, and when they manifest separately ('*vyastocchārita*'),[70] they form the *alaṁkāra, prasannānta*. Bharata also mentioned about the application of different microtones (*śrutis*) in different *alaṁkāras* of the *sthāyī-varṇa*, and his explanation or elucidation of the *alaṁkāras* are very lucid and convincing (vide the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kāvyamālā ed., chap. 29th, 17-86).

In the *Bṛhaddeśī*, Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) followed Bharata, though his method of interpretation of the terms were different to some extent. He said that the word '*varṇa*' connotes the idea of song ('*varṇa-śabdena gānamabhidhī-*

68. तेषां दीप्तिज्ञोपलब्धिः ।
69. तेषां खलु सप्त यमानां उत्तरोत्तर-दीप्तिजा पूर्वपूर्वोपलब्धिः स्यात ।
70. व्यस्तोच्चारित ।

yate'),[71] whereas Bharata said that the *varṇas* are meant for the songs : '*ete varṇāstu* * * *gīta-yojakaḥ*'.[72]

Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) followed Muni Bharata, but his method of interpretations of *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras* in the *Śaṅgīta-Ratnākara* are different. He rather made a new approach in defining and elucidating the *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*. He defined *varṇa* as '*gāna-kriyā*' (vide *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, 1.6.1). Now, what is the '*gāna-kriyā*'? Kallināth said that the word *gāna-kriyā* conveys the idea of expansion or elaboration of the notes, or the stanzas : '*svara-padāde varṇanād-vistāra-karaṇāt*',[73] as for example, sa-sa-sa, ri-ri-ri, etc. Siṁhabhupāla described *varṇa* as the method of helping the intonations of the notes : '*gāna-kriyā gāna-karaṇaṃ ucchāraṇaṃ iti yāvat*'.[74] The *varṇas* are of four kinds, and the *sthāyī-varṇa*, said Śāraṅgadeva, is used with some definite pause : '*sthitvā sthitvā prayogaḥ syāt*'.[75] Siṁhabhupāla explained that *sthāyī-varṇa* is the lengthening of pronunciation or intonation : '*vilamvya vilamvya* * * *ucchāraṇam*'.[76] But Bharata did not admit any of these definitions, as, according him, the notes of the *sthāyī-varṇa* are used without any change or delay. He said : '*sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā yatra*', i.e., the notes will be intonated or uttered slowly and also in the same process. Śāraṅgadeva said that importance of the *varṇas* is for definite intonation and elaborate manifestation of the songs (*gītis*), and the *alaṁkāras* are the combinations of the *varṇas* (*varṇa-sandharva*). Bharata did not agree with Śāraṅgadeva in this matter. He said that the *alaṁkāras* are helpful and cling to the *varṇas* (*varṇa-saṁśrayaḥ*). Siṁhabhupāla made the contentions of Bharata and Śāraṅgadeva more explicit, when he said that the *gītis* are pleasant to the musicians and

71. वर्ण-शब्देन गानमभिधीयते ।
72. एते वर्णास्तु * * गीतयोजकः ।
73. स्वर-पदादे वर्णनाद विस्तारकरणात ।
74. गानक्रिया गानकरणं उच्चारणं इति यावत ।
75. स्थित्वा स्थित्वा प्रयोगः स्यात ।
76. विलम्व्य विलम्व्य * * उच्चारणम् ।

listeners for the *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras* : '* * *gīti-gātṛ-śrotṛṇāṃ sukhāvahā bhavatīti*'.[77] Śāraṅgadeva defined the *alaṁkāra prasannādi* as the combination of two bass notes and one high note, e.g. ṣa ṣa sa. That is, two bass notes will be intonated first and then a high note is uttered separately. But this definition of *prasannādi* of Śāraṅgadeva is different from that of Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Such is also the case with other *alaṁkāras*.

The noted South Indian musicologist Veṅkatamakhī also dealt with the problem of *alaṁkāra* in his *Chaturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*. He said that according to Śāraṅgadeva, *alaṁkāras* are 63 in number : '*te cha triṣaṣṭi-ruditāḥ Śāraṅgadevena-sūriṇā*'.[78] At the end of the *varṇālaṁkāra* chapter, Śāraṅgadeva admitted it : '*iti prasiddha-alaṁkārāstri-ṣaṣṭiruditā mayā*'.[79] But Veṅkatamakhī did neither follow Bharata, nor Śāraṅgadeva in respect of the *alaṁkāras*. He defined the *alaṁkāras* like *jhompta, dhruva, maṇṭha, rūpaka, jhampa, triputa*, etc. which are helpful to the notes of the *gītis*. Veṅkatamakhī's *jhompta* (*alaṁkāra*) is similar to *ārohī* and *avarohī varṇas* combined.

Now, we find that though the three outstanding musicologists, Bharata, Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhī differed from one another regarding *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, yet they admitted the importance of them for definite and clear manifestation of the notes (*svaras*) and the songs (*gītis*). The music of India is enriched by their precious contributions, and they will remain as the guiding stars to the lovers of music and musicology of not only of India, but also of all the civilized nations of the world.

The *grāmarāgas* evolved from the two ancient basic scales (*grāmas*), *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. From the fifty-one (according to Mataṅga) or thirty (according to Śāraṅgadeva) *grāmarāgas*, various subordinate (*bhāṣā*) *rāgas* evolved. From *bhāṣā*, evolved

77. गीति-गातृ-श्रोतृणां सुखावहा भवतीति ।
78. ते च त्रिषष्टिरुदिताः शारङ्गदेवेन-सूरिणा ।
79. इति प्रसिद्ध अलंकारास्त्रिषष्टिरुदिता मया ।

vibhāṣā or *vibhāṣikā rāgas*, and from *vibhāṣā antarabhāṣā rāgas* came into being. Mataṅga said,

Grāmarāgodbhavā bhāṣā bhāṣābhyaścha vibhāṣikāḥ /
Vibhāṣābhyaścha sañjātastathā chāntara-bhāṣikāḥ //[80]

The *bhāṣā-rāgas* are so called because they evolved from the *grāmarāgas*. These *bhāṣā* or subordinate *rāgas* are divided into four classes, *mūla* (main), *saṁkīrṇa* (mixed), *deśaja* (evolved from the regional tunes), and *cchāyāmātrāsrayā* (evolved as parts). Again these *rāgas* are classified into *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga*, and *upāṅga*. Kallināth defined these *aṅga-rāgas* in the second part of the *rāga* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He said that the *rāgas*, evolved out of the main *rāgas*, are known as *rāgāṅga* : '*grāmoktānāṃ tu rāgāṇāṃ cchāyāmātraṃ bhavediti* * * *rāgāṅgastena hetunā*'.[81] The *bhāsāṅga-rāgas* are the upshoot of the *bhāṣā-rāgas*, etc. All these *aṅga-rāgas* are known as the formalized *desī-rāgas*, because they were adopted from different aboriginal tunes of different parts of India. In fact, the folk songs are the basic ones and from them art music developed in a gradual process. Kallināth said : '*rāgāṅgādi-chatuṣṭayaṃ deśī-rāgatayā proktamiti*',[82] i.e. the *rāgas* are known as regional, because they are sung at the free will of the people in general, and no *śāstric* rules can be imposed upon them : '*deśītvaṃ nāma kāmāchāra-pravartitvaṃ*'.[83]

Veṅkatamakhī (1620 A.D.) was of the opinion that Bharata and others admitted ten *grāmarāgas*, among which six are of *mārga* type and four are of *deśī* or regional type. He stated,

Rāgāstāvaddaśavidhā bharatādyai-rudīritāḥ /
Grāmarāgāśchoparāgā-rāgā-bhāṣā-vibhāṣikāḥ //
Tathaivāntarabhāṣākhyā rāgāṅgākhyāstataḥ paraṃ /
Bhāṣāṅgāni kriyāṅgāni hyupāṅgānīti cha kramāt //

80. ग्रामरागोद्भवा भाषा भाषाभ्यश्च विभाषिकाः।
विभाषाभ्यश्च सञ्जातस्तथा चान्तरभाषिकाः।
81. ग्रामोक्तानां तु रागाणां छायामात्रां भवेदिति।
* * रागाङ्गस्तेन हेतुना।
82. रागाङ्गादि चतुष्टयं देशीरागतया प्रोक्तमिति।
83. देशीत्वं नाम कामाचारप्रवर्तित्वं।

Daśasveteșu rāgeșu grāmarāgādayaḥ punaḥ /
Rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārga-rāgā bhavanti ṣat //
Tato gandharvalokena prayojyāste vyavasthitāḥ /
Tasmād-rāgāṅga-bhāṣāṅga-kriyāṅgopāṅga samjñitā /
Rāgaschatvāra evaite deśīrāgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //[84]

The contention of Veṅkatamakhī is that the *mārga* type of the *grāmarāgas* were exclusively practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, whereas the *deśīrāgas* by the people in general. But from history we know that the *grāmarāgas* were widely cultured by men and women in the times of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* (400 B.C.—200 B.C.). Nārada also mentioned seven kinds of *grāmarāgas* in the '*Śikṣā*'. So, when Veṅkatamakhī said : '*tato gandharva-lokena prayajyaste*', it meant that the six *mārga-grāmarāgas* were *gandharva* type of music, and they

84. रागास्तावद्दशविधा भरताद्यैरुदीरिताः ।
ग्रामरागाश्चोपरागा रागा-भाषा-विभाषिकाः ॥
तथैवान्तरभाषाख्या रागांगाख्यास्ततः परं ।
भाषांगानि क्रियांगानि ह्युपांगानीति च क्रमात् ॥
दशस्वेतेषु रागेषु ग्रामरागादयः पुनः ।
रागास्त्वन्तरभाषान्ता मार्गरागा भवन्ति षट् ॥
ततो गन्धर्वलोकेन प्रयोज्यास्ते व्यवस्थिताः ।
तस्माद्रागांग-भाषांग-क्रियांगोपांग संज्ञिताः ॥
रागाश्चत्वार एवैते देशीरागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
—चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका (माद्राज सं), पृः ५७

Śāraṅgadeva said,

सर्वेषामिति रागाणां मिलितानाम् शतद्वयं ।
चतुःषष्ठ्याधिकं ब्रूते शार्ङ्गी स्त्रीकरणाग्रणीः ॥

That is, the *rāgas* are 264 in number : (a) *grāmarāga* 30 + *uparāga* 8 + *rāga* 20 + *bhāṣārāga* 96 + *vibhāṣārāga* 20 + *antarabhāṣā-rāga* 4 + *rāgāṅga* 21 + *bhāṣāṅga* 20 + *kriyāṅga* 15 + *upāṅga* 30 = 264.

(b) *grāmarāga* 30 + *uparāga* 8 + *rāga* 20 + *bhāṣā* 96 + *vibhāṣā* 20 + *antarabhāṣā* 4 + (ancient) *rāgāṅga* 8 + *bhāṣāṅga* 11 + *kriyāṅga* 12 + *upāṅga* 3 + (modern) *rāgāṅga* 13 + *bhāṣāṅga* 9 + *krīyāṅga* 3 + *upāṅga* 27 = 264 (vide *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Adyar ed.), pt. II, pp. 12-13.

gradually were extinct in the human society. Such was the case of the *gāndhāra-grāma*. The word *'gandharva-loka'* signifies the region of the semi-divine Gandharvas. It was believed that the *gāndharva* type of music was very favourite to the Gandharvas, and Bharata admitted it in his *Nātyaśāstra*. It is probable that when *gāndharva* type of music gradually fell into oblivion from the human community, its practice was limited only to the Gandharvas. Further Veṅkatamakhī's statement : *'rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārgarāgā bhavanti ṣat'* is also supported by Kallināth, when he said : *'gāndharvaṃ mārgaḥ * * svaragatarāga-vivekayor-jātyādyantarabhā-ṣāntaṃ yaduktaṃ tad-gāndharvamityarthaḥ'*.[85]

We have already said that pure type of the *jātirāgas* are the caste (*jāti*) or basic melodies. They evolved probably in the beginning of the classical period (600—500 B.C.). They were gradually developed, and, in Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*, we find eleven more mixed *jātirāgas*, and their number became eighteen (7+11=18). From them, as has already been said, there evolved six *grāmarāgas*, which again gave rise to various *uparāgas*. From the *uparāgas*, different *bhāṣā-rāgas*, from the *bhāṣās*, the *vibhāṣās*, and from the *vibhāṣās*, different *antarabhāṣā rāgas* evolved through the process of gradual progression.

Again, a neo-creative urge among the progressive community of people gave birth to different types of the formalized regional or folk tunes in the form of *śāstric* classical melodies. The post-Bharata playwrights, musicologists and musicians had broad vision in them, so they enriched the treasure of Aryan music by adopting various non-Aryan (folk) and some foreign tunes. The *deśī* class of music, like *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga* and *upāṅga* evolved side by side of the *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣa* and *antarabhāṣā rāgas* to suit the taste of the progressive society. A chart is given here below showing the distinction of these *rāgas* from the *jātis* and the formalized *deśī-rāgas*.

85. गान्धर्वं मार्गः * * स्वरगतरागविवेकयोर्जात्यद्यन्तरभाषान्तं यदुक्तं तद् गान्धर्वमित्यर्थः।

CHART I

The *rāgas* that evolved and were current from 600 B.C. to the second-third century A.D. :

Nos.	Grāmas	Pure & Mixed	Mixed	Jātirāgas
1.	Ṣaḍja	Pure	—	Ṣāḍjī
2.	,,	,,	—	Arṣabhī
3.	Madhyama	,,	—	Gāndhārī
4.	,,	,,	—	Madhyamā
5.	,,	,,	—	Pañchamī
6.	Ṣaḍja	,,	—	Dhaivātī
7.	,,	,,	—	Naisādī
8.	,,	Mixed	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī	Ṣaḍja-kaiśikī
9.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī	Ṣaḍjodichyavā
10.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Madhyamā	Ṣaḍja-madhyamā
11.	Madhyama	,,	Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī + Ṣāḍjī + Madhyamā	Gāndhārodichyavā
12.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Naiṣādī + Pañchamī + Madhyamā	Raktagāndhārī
13.	,,	,,	Ṣāḍjī + Gāndhārī + Madhyamā + Pañchamī Naiṣādī	Kaiśikī
14.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī + Pañchamī + Madhyamā	Madhyamovi-chyavā
15.	,,	,,	Naiṣādī + Ārṣabhī + Pañchamī	Karmāravī
16.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Pañchamī	Gāndhāra-Pañchamī
17.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Ārṣabhī	Āndhrī
18.	,,	,,	Gāndhārī + Pañchamī + Ārṣabhī	Nandayanti

Now, it may be asked as to what where the forms and manifestations of the *śuddha-jātis* or pure type of *jātirāgas* which were current from the time of *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.) down to that of Bharata's *Natyaśāstra* (second century A.D.). If we critically study Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, and Śārańga-deva's *Sańgīta-Ratnākara*, we get an idea of them. Bharata said that *ṣāḍjī* used to be presented in three forms, heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*), hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*), and pentatonic (*auḍava*). That is, when *ṛṣabha* and *niṣāda* were dropped, it manifested as the pentatonic *jātirāga*, and when *niṣāda* was dropped, it was known as hexatonic. Both the first and the sixth notes were used as sonants (*aṁśa* or *vādī*). There were harmonic relations

between the first and the third, and the first and the sixth notes. Three kinds of units (*kalās*) were used in the *jātirāgas*, and they were *ekakalā*, *dvikalā*, and *chatuṣkalā*.

I. The *ṣāḍjī* was used with the dramatic songs (*nātya-gītis*), *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *sambhāvitā*, and *prithulā* according to the numbers or units (*kalā*) used in it. In the first act of the dramatic play, the *jātirāga*, *ṣāḍjī* was used with the *dhruvā-gīti*, *naiṣkrāmakī*. Śāraṅgadeva gave the notations of the *jātirāga*, *ṣāḍjī* with the composition (*sāhitya*) of the *prabandha* type of *brahmagīti*, which is believed to be composed by Bhahmābharata of the 600-500 B.C. The notations are,

sa sa sa sa pa ni-dha pa dha-ni
taṃ o bha va la lā o o ta o
ri ga-ma ga ga sa ri-ga dha-sa dha
na ya o nāṃ o vu jā o o· o dhi
ri-ga sa ri ga sa sa sa sa /
kaṃ o o o o o o o o, etc.[86]

II. The *ārṣabhī* used to be presented as heptatonic, hexatonic, and pentatonic. When the tonic, *ṣaḍja* was left out, it was known as hexatonic, and when the tonic and the fifth were dropped, it was manifested as pentatonic. The notes, *ṛṣabha*, *dhaivata*, and *niṣāda* were used as the sonants. The rhythm like *chacchatputa* with eight units (*kalās*) accompanied it. It was generally used in the dramatic song, *naiṣkrāmikī* (*dhruvāgīti*).

III. The *gāndhārī* used to be manifested sometimes with seven notes, sometimes with six, when *ṛṣabha* was dropped, and sometimes with five notes, when *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* were left out. It used to be played upto the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* of both the registers, bass and high. It manifested with sixteen units (*kalā*) and the rhythm, *chacchatputa-tāla*. It was used in the dramatic song, *prāveśika* or *prāveśikī* (*dhruvā*).

IV. The *madhyamā-jātirāga* used to be manifested in three tonal forms, heptatonic, hexatonic, and pentatonic. When

86. तं भव-ललाट-नयनाम्बुजाधिकं ।
नगसूनु-प्रणय-केलि-समुद्भवम् ।।

the note *gāndhāra* was dropped, it was known as hexatonic, and when both *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda* were left out, it was called pentatonic. The five notes, *ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, madhyama, pañchama* and *dhaivata* were used as the sonant (*aṁśa*) alternately. The notes *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama* were used profusely, while lesser number of *gāndhāra* was used. Eight units (*kalās* or *mātrās*) and rhythm like *chacchatputa* were added to it.

V. The *pañchamī* used to be manifested with its sonants, *ṛṣabha* and *pañchama*. The final (*nyāsa*) note was *pañchama*. The notes, *ṣaḍja, madhyama*, and *gāndhāra* were used sparingly. There was a harmonic relation between *ṛṣabha* and *gāndhāra*. Eight kinds of units (*kalās*), together with the rhythm *chacchatputa*, were used in it.

VI. The *dhaivatī* was sung as a hexatonic *jātirāga*, when the fifth note was dropped, and as pentatonic, when both the notes *ṣaḍja* and *pañchama* were dropped. It was determined by the *ṛṣabha-mūrcchanā*, and was used with the dramatic song (*dhruvāgīti*), *prāveśikī*.

VII. The *naiṣādī* had its sonants, *ṛṣabha, gāndhāra*, and *niṣāda*. *Ṣaḍja, madhyama* and *pañchama*, were used in greater number. It used to be manifested as hexatonic, when *pañchama* was dropped, and as pentatonic, when *ṣaḍja* and *pañchama* were left out. It was used with the dramatic song, *naiṣkrāmikī*. The rhythm like *chacchatputa* with sixteen units (*kalās*) was used in it.

Mataṅga fully dealt with the forms and characteristics of the seven pure *jātirāgas* in his *Bṛhaddeśī* (Trivāndrum ed., 1930, pp. 70-73). Śāraṅgadeva also described about them fully in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. The *jātirāgas* were exclusively meant for the dramatic purpose. Their forms might have been more developed during the times of Bharata and Mataṅga, but they were traditionally cultured from the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.) and the *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.).

It has already been said that the *grāmarāgas* evolved from the *jātirāgas*, and references of them are found in the *Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa* and *Nāradīśikṣā* and other books. Nārada

described, in short, their tonal forms and characteristics in his *Śikṣā*, but their detailed descriptions are found in Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Regarding the *grāmarāgas*, Nārada said in the *Śikṣā* :

I. Ṛṣabhotthitaḥ ṣaḍjahato dhaivata-sahitaścha
pañchamo yatra /
Nipatati madhyama-rāge tanniṣādaṃ ṣāḍavaṃ
vidyāt //[87]

That is, when the *grāmarāga* is sung with the five notes, *ṛṣabha*, *ṣaḍja*, *dhaivata*, *pañchama*, and *niṣāda* in the medium basic scale (*madhyama-grāma*), it is known as the *ṣāḍava*.

II. Yadi pañchamo viramate gāndhāraśchāntara-
svaro bhavati /
Ṛṣabho niṣāda-sahitastaṃ pañchamamīdṛśaṃ
vidyāt //[88]

When *pañchama* rests on *madhyama*, the *grāmarāga*, *pañchama* is evolved with the notes, *gāndhāra*, *ṛṣabha* and *niṣāda*.

III. Gāndhārasyādhipatyena niṣādasya gatāgataiḥ /
Dhaivatasya cha daurvalyān madhyama-grāma-
muchyate //[89]

When *gāndhāra* is used profusely, *niṣāda* is used repeatedly, *dhaivata* becomes weak i.e. *dhaivata* is used, sparingly and the notes, *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha* are used, the *grāmarāga* that evolves, is known as the *madhyama*.

IV. Īṣatspṛṣto niṣādasyastu gāndhāraśchādhiko bhavet /
Dhaivataḥ kampito yatra ṣaḍjagrāmaṃ tu nirdiśet //[90]

87. ऋषभोत्थितः षड्जहतो धैवतसहितश्च पञ्चमो यत्र ।
निपतति मध्यमरागे तन्निषादं षाड़वं विद्यात् ॥
88. यदि पञ्चमो विरमते गान्धारश्चान्तरस्वरो भवति ।
ऋषभो निषादसहितस्तं पञ्चममीदृशं विद्यात् ॥
89. गान्धारस्याधिपत्येन निषादस्य गतागतैः ।
धैवतस्य च दौर्बल्यान् मध्यमग्राममुच्यते ॥
90. ईषत्स्पृष्टो निषादस्यस्तु गान्धारश्चाधिको भवेत् ।
धैवतः कम्पितो यत्र षड्जग्रामं तु निर्दिशेत् ॥

When *ṣadja* is used, *niṣāda* is sparingly used, *gāndhāra* is used in a greater number, *dhaivata* used to vibrate, and when it touches the other notes, the tonal form that evolves out of them, is called the *ṣadjagrāma*. It is presented at the free will of the artists.

V. Antaraḥ svara-saṁyuktā kākalir-yatra dṛśyate /
Taṃ tu sādhāritaṃ vidyāt-pañchamasthaṃ tu kaiśīkaṃ //[91]

When *niṣāda* appears as *kaiśika*, composed of two microtones of its own *plus* two microtones of the note *ṣadja*, and *gāndhāra* appears with four microtonal units (two of its own *plus* two of the note *madhyama*), and *madhyama* appears as *madhyama-sādhāraṇa*, it is called the *sādhārita*.

VI. Kaiśikaṃ bhāvayitvā tu svaraiḥ sarvaiḥ samantataḥ /
Yasmāt tu madhyame nyāsastasmāt kaiśika-madhyamaḥ //[92]

When all the notes of the *kaiśika-grāmarāga* are used, and *madhyama* is used as the final note, the *grāmarāga* is known as the *kaiśika-madhyama*.

VII. Kākalir-dṛśyate yatra prādhānyaṃ pañchamasya tu /
Kaśyapaḥ kaiśikaṃ prāha madhyama-grāma-sambhavam //[93]

Nārada said that when *kākali-niṣāda* is used and *pañchama* is not prominent, the *grāmarāga*, *kaiśika* evolves from the medium basic scale. These *grāmarāgas* are similar in forms to those of the *rāgas*, depicted in the Kuḍimiyāmalai Inscription.

91. अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्ता काकलिर्यत्र दृश्यते ।
तं तु साधारितं विद्यात पञ्चमस्थं तु कैशीकं ॥
92. कैशीकं भावयित्वा तु स्वरैः सर्वैः समन्ततः ।
यष्मात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तस्मात कैशीकमध्यमः ॥
93. काकलिर्दृश्यते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य तु ।
कश्यपः कैशीकं प्राह मध्यमग्रामसम्भवम् ॥

In the early thirteenth century, we find many changes in tonal forms and manifestations of the *grāmarāgas*. Then the *gāndharva* type of music was absolutely replaced by the classical *deśī* one. Many other modified forms of the new *grāmarāgas* evolved at that time. Śāraṅgadeva gave detailed descriptions of the *grāmarāgas*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *śuddha-kaiśīka*, *bhinna-kaiśīka-madhyama*, *bhinnatāna*, *bhinna-kaiśīka*, etc. Regarding the *ṣaḍjagrāma*, he said that it was composed of seven notes, its final (*nyāsa*) note was *madhyama*, and *ṣaḍja* was *upanyāsa*, and in decent (*avarohaṇe*) *prasanānta-mūrcchanā* was in use. The form of the *mūrcchanā* was 'sa-ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa'. The *ṣaḍja-mūrcchanā* also enriched the *grāmarāga*. The *kākali-niṣāda* and *antara-gāndhāra* were used in it, and they were impregnated with the æsthetic sentiments, *veera*, *raudra*, and *adbhuta*. The *ṣaḍjagrāmarāga* evolved from the *ṣaḍjagrāma* and was sung during the rainy season, in the first part of the day. This description of the *ṣaḍjagrāmarāga* is different from that of the *Nāradīśikṣā*. Thus we find that when the formalization of the regional tunes was in process, the forms of the *grāmarāgas* were changed to some extent, and the pure types of them were gradually replaced by the mixed and new ones.

We have already mentioned that the *grāmarāgas* evolved from the *gītis* or *rāgagītis*, as depicted in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*. Now let us enumerate the *grāmarāgas* and the formalized *deśī-rāgas*, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* :

CHART II

Rāgagīti		Latter form of Grāmarāgas
1. Śuddhā	...	ṣaḍjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, śuddha-kaiśīka, śuddha-pañchama, śuddha-kaiśīka-madhyama, śuddha-sādhārita, śuddha-ṣāḍava
2. Bhinnā	...	bhinna-pañchama, bhinna-ṣaḍja, bhinna-kaiśīka, bhinnatāna, bhinna-kaiśīka-madhyama.
3. Gauḍī	...	gauḍa-kaiśīka, gauḍa-pañchama, gauḍa-kaiśīka-madhyama.

Rāgagīti		Latter form of Grāmarāgas
4. Vesarā	...	sauvira, ṭhakka, botta, mālava-kauśika, ṭhakka-kauśika, hindola, mālava-pañchama, vesarā-ṣāḍava.
5. Sādhāraṇī	...	rūpa-sādhārita, śaka, bhaṣmāṇa-pañchama, nartta, gāndhāra-pañchama, ṣaḍja-kaiśika, kakubha.

CHART III

Serial No.	Rāgas	Number of Rāgas
1.	Rāga	Twenty
2.	Rāgāṅgāṇi, current in ancient times	Eight
3.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi	Eleven
4.	Kriyāṅgāṇi	Twelve
5.	Rāgāṅgāṇi	Three
6.	Upāṅgāṇi, current in modern times	Thirteen
7.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (modern)	Nine
8.	Upāṅgāṇi (modern)	Twenty-seven

CHART IV

Serial No.	Description of Rāgas	Number
1.	Grāma-rāga	Thirty
2.	Upa-rāga	Eight
3.	Rāga	Twenty
4.	Rāgāṅgāṇi, current in ancient times	Eight
5.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (do)	Eleven
6.	Kriyāṅgāṇi (do)	Twelve
7.	Upāṅgāṇi (do)	Three
8.	Bhāṣā-rāga (do)	Ninety-six
9.	Bibhāṣā-rāga (do)	Twenty
10.	Antara-bhāṣā (do)	Four
11.	Rāgas, current in modern times	Thirteen

Serial No.	Description of Rāgas	Number
12.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (do)	Nine
13.	Kriyāṅgāṇi (do)	Three
14.	Upāṅgāṇi (do)	Twenty-seven

That is, from the six or seven basic *grāmarāgas*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *madhyamagrāma*, (*śuddha*)-*kaiśīka*, *śuddha-pañchama*, (*śuddha*)-*kaiśīka-madhyama*, (*śuddha*)-*sādhārita*, and (*śuddha*)-*ṣāḍava*,[94] and also from other (twenty-three) *grāmarāgas* those evolved from the *rāgagītis*, *bhinnā*, *gauḍī*, *vasarā* and *sādhāraṇī*, fifteen *bhāṣā-rāgas* (=*bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* and *antarabhāṣā*), *sauvira*, *kakubha*, *ṭhakka*, *pañchama*, *bhinna-pañchama*, *ṭhakka-kaiśīka*, *hindola*, *botta*, *mālava-kaiśīka*, *gāndhāra-pañchama*, *bhinna-ṣaḍja*, *vesarā-sāḍava*, *mālava-pañchama*, *bhinna-tāna*, and *pañchama-sāḍava* evolved. Again from these different types of *bhāṣā-rāgas*, other *bhāṣā-uparāgas*, like *sauvirī*, *vegamadhyama*, *sādhārita*, *gāndhārī*, etc. (hundred and forty-seven) evolved. Besides them, different *deśī-rāgas* and *upa-rāgas* evolved as *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga* and *upāṅga*. The *aṅga-rāgas* were *śaṅkarābharaṇa*, *ghantārava*, *dīpaka*, *cchāyā*, etc. (thirty-four *bhāṣā* or subordinate *rāgas*). It should be noted that different kinds of *rāgas* of the '*kṛ*' stock also evolved as the *kriyāṅga-rāgas*, and they were twelve in number and sometimes more than that. The *bhāṣā-rāgas* were known as 'ancient ones' (*pūrva-prasiddha*). There evolved again forty-nine modern types of *rāgas*, and they were : *madhyamādī*, *mālavaśrī*, *toḍi*, *bāṅgāla*, *bhairava*, *varātī*, *gurjari*, *gauḍa*, *kolāhala*, *vasanta*, *dhānaśī*, *deśī*, *deśākhya*, *dombakrī* (afterwards *vāgeśrī*), *prathama-mañjarī*, *śuddha-varāṭikā*, *āśāvarī*, *ādi-kāmoda*, *nāgadhvani*, *velāvalī*, *natta*, *karṇāta-bāṅgāla* and others.

Śāraṅgadeva estimated the total number of the *rāgas* (*grāma-rāgas* and all kinds of *bhāṣā-rāga*) as 264,[95] and they are :

94. It has already been mentioned that when *kaiśika* and *kaiśika-madhyama* are considered as one and the same *rāga* i.e. *grāmarāga*, the numbers of the basic *grāmarāga* are six.

95. They have been mentioned before.

Grāmarāgas	...	30	Bhāṣāṅgas	...	11
Upa-rāgas	...	8	Kriyāṅgas	...	12
Rāgas	...	20	Upāṅgas	...	3
Bhāṣā-rāgas	...	96	Rāgāṅgas (modern)		13
Vibhāṣā-rāgas	...	20	Bhāṣāṅgas	...	9
Antarabhāṣās	...	4	Kriyāṅgas	...	3
Rāgāṅgas (ancient)		8	Upāṅgas	...	27
				Total =	264

In the *Saṅgītasāra* by the philosopher-musician, Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (14th-15th century A.D.), we clearly find the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme for the first time in the domain of Indian music. Vidyāraṇya classified 15 basic and 50 subordinate *rāgas*. It seems that following the method of Vidyāraṇya, Kṛṣṇadās in the *Gīta-prakāśa*, Paṇḍit Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala in the *Sadrāgachandrodya*, Rāmamātya in the *Svaremelakalānidhi*, Somanāth in the *Rāga-vibodha*, Govinda-Dīkṣita in the *Saṅgītasudhā*, Veṅkatamakhī in the *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, Tulijā in the *Saṅgītasārāmṛta*, Lochana-kavi in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, Nārada (IV) in the *Rāganirūpaṇa*, Ahobala in the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*, Śrīnivāsa in the *Rāgatattvavibodha*, Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa in the *Hṛdayakautuka*, Rājā Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva in the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, Kavi Nārāyaṇa in the *Saṅgīta-saraṇi*, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in the *Saṅgīta-sūryodaya*, Gopīnāth in the *Kavichintāmaṇi* have classified and discussed various main and subordinate *rāgas*, in different periods. Some of them were original in their methods and interpretations, and some were only the compilers. So, some differences of opinion in the methods and divisions of the *rāgas* were inevitable. Generally we come across different views, regarding the names and classifications of the *rāgas*, and those views are ascribed to the authorities of the ancient authors like Brahmā, Śiva or Sadāśiva, Bharata, Mataṅga, Kohala, Nārada, Someśvara, Kallināth and others. But it is very difficult to correctly ascertain their genuine authorship and views. As for example, Brahmā, who was no other than Brahmābharata of the early sixth-fifth century B.C., was purely the expounder of the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of

Paṇḍit Mahāvaidyā-Nātha-Śivan found out a formulative process of evolution of the South Indian 72 *melakartās* or *melas*. He said in his *The Mahā-Rāga-Mālikā* (*1937*) that by the combination and permutation of 16 notes, sa ; ra, ri, ru ; ga, gi, gu ; ma, mi ; pa ; dha, dhi, dhu, na, ni and nu, Veṅkatamakhī described 72 *melakartās*. Any kind of crooked order or *vakra-gati* is not used in his 72 *melakartās*. So there are only 6 possible combinations of two varying notes in the *pūrvāṅga*, 'ri and ga', and 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the *uttarāṅga*. Any one of the 6 combinations of 'ri and ga' in the *pūrvāṅga* might be combined with any one of the 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the *uttarāṅga*. We get, therefore, $6 \times 6 = 36$ variations of the *melakartās* in the *śuddha-madhyama* set. Similarly, another set of 36 *melakartās* are found with the *prati-madhyama*, total number of which is 72 *melakartās*.

R. Śrīnivāsan is of the opinion : "A *rāga* is a succession of notes, the notes being chosen and combined in certain definite ways. In the first place, we have what are called the *melakartās*—the major types—in which all the seven notes of a scale occur in their natural order, both in the ascending and the descending scales. They are seventy-two in number and are generally divided into two groups of thirty-six each, according to whether they have the *śuddha-madhyama* or *prati-madhyama*-F or F-sharp. It is not difficult to see how seventy-two *rāgas* are possible. We must have 'sa' to start with, then we must have a 'ri', a 'ga', a 'ma', then a 'pa' and then a 'dha' and a 'ni'. For 'ma' we get thirty-six ways of combining these ; and so we get seventy-two on the whole. If we took the fifty-three *śruti* each (as R. H. M. Bosanquet admitted) and worked up the *rāgas* on the above mentioned principle, we should get 396,900 major or *melakartā-rāgas* ; on the other hand, the twenty-two *śruti*-scale give 1,024. But at present only about twenty to twenty-five of these seventy-two[96] *melakartās* are used".[97]

96. It is said that only 19 out of 72 *melakartās* were current in Veṅkatamakhī's times.

97. *Indian Art and Art-Crafts* (Madras, 1923), pp. 16-17.

Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe devised 10 *melas* to determine the *rāgas* of the North Indian system of music. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1560 A.D.) devised 12 *saṁsthānas* or *melas* for determination of all kinds of *rāgas* before him, but Bhātkhaṇḍejī made his division of the *melas* more simple. Let us illustrate those 10 *melas*, having its standard scale (*śuddha-mela*) as *vilābala*, compared to 10 corresponding *melakartās* of the South Indian system of music :

CHART V

Serial No.	Hindusthāni	Carnātic	10 *melas* of the Hindusthāni System
1.	Kalyāna	Kalyāni	Sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
2.	Vilābala	Sankarābharaṇam	sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
3.	Khāmbāj	Kambodhī or Hari-kambodhī	sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-*ni*
4.	Bhairava	Māyāmālavagaula	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-*dha*-ni
5.	Pūrvī	Kāmavardhaṇi	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-*dha*-ni
6.	Mārowā	Gamakakṛya	sa-*ri*-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni
7.	Kāphī	Kharaharapriyā	sa-ri-*ga*-ma-pa-dha-*ni*
8.	Āśāvarī	Natabhairavī	sa-ri-*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-*ni*
9.	Bhairavī	Toḍi or Hanumantoḍi	sa-*ri*-*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-*ni*
10.	Toḍi	Varālī	sa-*ri*-*ga*-ma-pa-*dha*-ni [98]

The *melas* (or *thātas*) are known as the *melakartās* (the basic scales) in the South Indian or Carnatic system of music. Seventy-two *melakartās* were devised according to the rules of the notes (*svaras*), and Veṅkatamakhī conceived that a *melakartā* need not be heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) in ascent and descent (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*), but that it should be

98. The *italics* indicate the flat (*komala*) notes.

harmonious and sweet. "Basing himself on these fundamentals he followed certain principles with reference to the *vivādī*-combinations. In case of *śuddha-gāndhāra*, he realised that 'sa ri ga ma' cannot be melodious, but 'ma ga ri sa' could be melodious by the adoption of the *gamaka* called *jāra*. Likewise with reference to *śuddha-niṣāda* he realized that 'pa dha ni sa' would not be melodious, but 'sa ni dha pa' could be melodious." The *gamakas*, called *jāru*, were utilised. Thus it happened that in the first *melakartā*, Veṅkatamakhī adopted 'sa ri ma pa dha sa' ; and 'sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa' as the *lakṣaṇa* (sign) of the *melakartā*, and that structure was known as *Kanakāmbari*."

In dealing with *ṣatśruti-ṛṣabha*, Veṅkatamakhī further "realised that 'ma ga ri sa' would not be melodious, and so he adopted only 'ma ri sa'. But 'sa ri ga ma' could be rendered melodious by the adoption of the *gamaka*, called *tripam* or *thripam*. Likewise, in the case of *ṣatśruti-dhaivata*, he adopted the application of 'pa dha ni sa' with the *tripam* (or *thripam*) and avoided 'sa ni dha pa' in the descent (*avarohaṇa*). This principle runs through the forty *vivādī-melakartās*, which are known as the *vivādī-svara* combinations."

In the recent days, a change has happened and the old system is replaced by the new one. Now, it has been decided by the Vidvāns that a *melakartā* must be *heptatonic* (*sampūrṇa*) in form, both in ascent and descent (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*). Now, following this new method or principle, they have classified the *melakartās* as *ṣāḍava-sampūrṇa*, *sampūrṇa-ṣāḍava*, *ouḍava-sampūrṇa*, and *sampūrṇa-ouḍava*. These new and novel forms of the *melakartās* perhaps were unknown to Pt. Rāmamātya, Govinda Dīkṣit, and Veṅkatamakhī. This innovation cannot be earlier than the end of the 18th century, as it was unknown to King Tulajā.

It is the opinion of the experts of the South Indian music that under the new scheme of *melakartā* and *rāga*, "even in the *vivādī-melakartās*, ascent and descent (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*) must be *sampūrṇa*. From the viewpoint of critical analysis, it can be said that this new conception stresses the notes (*svaras*)

and ignores the requirements of melody. For example, take the very first *melakartā* under the new dispensation. The ascent is 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa' which gives rise to the *rāga*, *kanakāṅgī*. Now, Veṅkatamakhī acting under the old conception of *melakartā* and emphasising melody adopted only 'sa ri ma pa dha sa' as ascent, and under the revised scheme, it caused to be a *melakartā* and became a *janya*."

But *Kanakāṅgī* is a scale and *Kanakāmbarī* is a *rāga*. In the same manner, we find that under the new scheme and nomenclature many of the *melakartās* of Veṅkatamakhī are classed as *janya*, and thus the new *melakartās* which are merely the scales, evolved.

In the Veṅkatamakhī's *Chaturḍaṇḍī-prakāśikā*, we find that the *rāgas* have been classified into eighteen *jātis* which simply show the main characteristics of the *rāgas*, coming under each *jāti*. It is said that the name *Chaturḍaṇḍī* was given for four kinds of *gānakriyā*, *sthāyī*, *ārohī*, *avarohī*, and *sañchārī*, which the book adopted. The book, *Saṅgītasūryodaya* defined the significance of Veṅkatamakī's *Chaturdaṇḍī* as,

गानक्रिया वर्णयतिः प्रोच्यते स चतुर्विधः ।
स्थाय्यारोह्यावरोही च सञ्चारीति क्रमादिमाः ॥
चतुर्दण्डी च सा प्रोक्ता नारदादि मुनिश्वरैः ॥

That is, Veṅkatamakhī explained also *gīta*, *prabandha*, *thāya* or *sthāya* and *ālāpa*—these music-materials in the sixth to ninth chapters of his *Chaturḍaṇḍī*. King Tulajā (1729-55 A.D.) used the term *Chaturdaṇḍī* in his *Saṅgītasārāmṛta* in the sense of *gīta*, *prabandha*, *thāya* and *ālāpa*. MM. Ramakrishna Kavi said that "recently a manuscript (of *Chaturdaṇḍī*) has been recovered from Mālābār and it defines thirtyfive musical compositions which were in vogue in 1650 A.D."[99]

99. The references are taken from the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.

Rules for determining a Rāga

The *rāgas* evolve from the *melas* or *melakartās*, and these are the important rules for determining the form and concept of a *rāga* :

1. A *rāga* should have a definite scale (*mela* or *thāta*),
2. A *rāga* should never omit the note *ṣaḍja* (tonic) which is regarded as a drone, or a basic note,
3. A *rāga* must have at least one of the following notes : *pañchama* (the fifth), *madhyama* (the fourth) or *tivra-madhyama* (m or M),
4. A *rāga* does not have less than four notes, though there are few *rāgas* which are possessed of four notes,
5. A *rāga* (specially the North Indian one) has a *vādī* or *aṁśa* in a given tetrachord. Its counterpart in the other tetrachord is called *samvādī*. Besides, a *rāga* should be possessed of an *anuvādī*. The *vivādī* note is abolished in a *rāga*, but sometimes for beauty it can be used. As for example, *pañchama* is abolished (*varjita*) in the *rāga*, *mālava-kauśika* (*mālkoṣa*), but for determining the characteristic of the *rāga* as well as beauty, *pañchama* is slightly used in the *mālava-kauśika*,
6. A *rāga* should possess a definite set of ascent and descent (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*) of tones. It is also characterised by some tonal groups or movements, which are known as *varṇa*, *thāya*, and idioms etc.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOLK ELEMENT IN INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC

The folk music is the most ancient one and it existed from the dawn of civilization of the world. In the primitive period, the savage peoples of all countries of the world used to sing the simple songs which were prevalent in their undeveloped societies. In India, we find the folk type of songs in every country, and men and women use to sing simple songs with the tunes of their own. Thus we find many tunes with their special forms or features, named after the countries and the nations. Such as, the tune *baṅgāl* or *bāṅgālī* evolved from the Vaṅga-deśa, *āndhrī* from the Andhra-deśa, *gāndhārī* from the Gāndhāra-deśa (i.e. Kāndāhār), *gurjarī* from Gurjara, *saurātrī* from Saurātra-deśa, *saindhavī* or *sindhu* from Sindhu-deśa or Sind, etc. as well as *ābhirī* or *āhirī* from the Ābhīra-tribe, *bhairava* from the Bhairava tribe, *pulindikā* from the Pulinda-tribe, etc. These tunes were afterwards introduced in the civilized Aryan society and were formalized with the prescribed rules and principles that are contained in the developed classical highway tunes i.e. *rāgas*. In the similar way, many *parada* i.e. *paradatta* or foreign tunes got into the stock of the Indian-Aryan (classical) music. As for example, *śaka-rāga* was the tune of folk song of the Scythians, *toḍī-rāga* was the tune of the ancient (folk) music of the Turkeys, *harmān* was the national or folk tune of the Armenians. These foreign tunes travelled to India and were intermixed with the Indian musical elements through the medium of trade-route. Dr. B. N. Datta, Dr. P. C. Bāgchi, R. D. Banerjee, R. P. Chanda, and many other scholars admitted this fact of fusion of art and culture.

A
RĀGIṆĪ BĀNGĀLĪ

Let us discuss, in short, the *rāga-bāṅgālī* and its inclusion into the stock of classical Indian music. *Baṅgāl* or *bāṅgālī* was

originally a folk and non-Aryan tune, and afterwards it found its place in the highway music of the Gauḍa-Vaṅga or Bengal. The Pāhārpur excavation (in Bāṅglādeśa) gave many evidences of ancient aboriginal tribes. In the walls of the Sarvatobhadra Temple at Pāhārpur (8th *Śataka*), there are many sculptures of different styles, and one of them represents a Kauma-tribe, who were divided into two, *nagna*-Śavarī and *parṇa*-Śavarī, i.e. one Kauma did not wear cloth, and another used cloth of leaves of the trees. Those Śavaras were one of the ancient nomadic or aboriginal tribes of India, who lived in Bengal in 8th *Śataka*. This tribe still exists in Kaliṅgadeśa. Dr. O. C. Gangoly suggested that the Śavaras were gradually civilized, and their folk tune was named after them, which was known as *śavarī*. The historians are of the opinion that Bengal remained outside of the boundary of Aryan civilization in ancient time. In the Ṛk-Veda, there is no mention of Bengal. In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, we find a line :

अंग-बंग-कलिंगेषु * * मगधेषु च ।
तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनःसंस्कार मर्हति ॥

The contention of the *Brāhmaṇa* is that the culture of *Vaṅga* or Bengal was against that of the Veda i.e. *vaidika*-culture, and it was influenced by the non-Aryan culture, and so it was not considered as the sacred one. Sir Herbert Risly was of the opinion that 'the Bengali was an alloy of the Mongolian and Dravidian races', and this opinion held the ground for a long time. But this view of Mr. Risly was criticised by Rai Bāhādur R. P. Chanda, Dr. B. S. Guha, Mr. H. C. Chāklādār, Dr. R. C. Mazumder and others. Mr. Chanda was of the opinion that "when immigrants of the *Homo-Alpanes* type entered India, they found the middle portion of the Gangetic plain in possession of the Vedic Aryans, and, therefore, found their way to the lower Gangetic plain across the tableland of Central India." However, we find a trace of the pre-Aryan civilization in Bengal. Dr. S. K. Chatterji mentioned about the culture of this civilization in his article, *Indo-Aryan and*

Hindi (op.cit., 30ff). Dr. R. C. Mazumder discussed about the Aryan immigration to Bengal in his recent book, *History of Ancient Bengal.*[1] He wrote : "The theory, of the non-Aryan origin of the Bengalis is supported by the Vedic literature. It is significant that there is no reference to Bengal in the Saṁhitā of the *Ṛgveda.* ** ** The *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* (1.1., 2, 13-15) prescribes a penance for those who visit, among other countries, Pundra and Vaṅga representing North and East Bengal."[2] The *Mahābhārata* referred to the places of pilgrimage in Bengal.

The end of the fourth century B.C. marked a fixed point in the expansion of Aryan culture in Eastern India. "Aryanised Bengal and Bihar formed the strongest political power in the whole of India. That Bengal, like Magadha, had imbibed many elements of Aryan culture can hardly be doubted and may be demonstrated by positive evidence." So it is found that at the end of the fourth century A.D., some of the portions of the Greater Bengal were Aryanised, but before that Vaṅgadeśa (Gauḍa-Vaṅga) or Bengal i.e. Greater Bengal was not recognised as a civilized and Aryanised one. In the collection of Ajit Ghose in the Ashutosh Museum in the Calcutta University evidences of many ancient and aboriginal elements of art and culture are found.

In music, we find that the folk tune, *baṅgāl* of the most ancient Bengal got into the stock of classical type of music with the name of the *rāgiṇī bāṅgāli.* Dr. O. C. Gangoly beautifully discussed this matter in his article, *Non-Aryan Contribution to Aryan Music* and also in the Preface (in Bengali) of *Rāga-O-Rūpa* by S. Prajñānānanda.[3] Now, when the folk tune of ancient Bengal was Aryanised and got into the stock of the highway classical music, the contemplative compositions

1. Vide Vol. I (1971), p. 25.
2. Ibid., p. 25.
3. Vide also S. Prajñānānanda : *Historical Study of Indian Music,* (Calcutta).

(*dhyāna-ślokas*) were composed by the intuitive poets (though it was composed in the 16th-17th century A.D. after its inclusion in long days before), and this *dhyāna-śloka* was,

कक्ष-निवेसित-करन्त-धरायताक्षी,
भास्वत्-त्रिशूल-परिमण्डित बामहस्ता।
भस्मोज्ज्वल निविड़ बद्ध-जटाकलापा,
बंगालीकेति अभिहिता तरूणार्क वर्णा॥[4]

Like *bhairavī*, *baṅgālī* or *bāṅgālī* is the *rāgiṇī* of the *rāga bhairava*. Mataṅga and Pārśvadeva said in the *Bṛhaddeśī* and the *Saṅgita-samayasāra* : '*Baṅgāladeśa sambhūtā Baṅgālī*'.[5] Being a *bhāṣā-rāga*, it is known as *rāgiṇī*. The *rāgiṇī-maṅgālī* is of the similar nature. There is a *rāga*, *maṅgala* or *gīta-maṅgala*, which is mentioned in different epics and ancient Sanskrit dramas, but *maṅgala* may be different from *rāgiṇī-maṅgālī*. The ancient tonal form of *bāṅgālī* is 'sa ga ma pa ni sa', or 'ma pa dha ni sa ri ga'—*sauvīra-mūrcchanā*. The present tonal form is 'sa ri (flat) ga ma pa dha (flat), sa—sa dha (flat) pa ma ga ri (flat), sa'.

In the *dhyāna-mantra*, the *rāgiṇī* holds a trident (*triśūla*) in her hand like *bhairavī-rāgiṇī*. In the painting of *bāṅgālī*, a tiger is seated before her. The tigers are available in the dense forests of Bengal. In a Hindi *dhyāna-śloka*, it is mentioned: '*maṭha śivatale siṁha ju vaṭhāhī*'.[6] Here lion is no other than the tiger. The *rāgiṇī* is absorbed in the contemplation of Śiva : '*śivako dhyāna vahai*'.[7] It is found that as the aboriginal tribes were the worshippers of Lord Śiva, so their tunes were known as '*śivā-priyā*'. Most of the text parts or *sāhityas* of the ancient songs were also composed of the *Śivastutis*. Now, in the process of development of the forms of the *rāgiṇī*, we find four evolutional stages : (1) In the first nascent stage, it is a folk tune of Bengal ; (2) In the second stage, it is known as *baṅgālikā* ; (3) In the third stage, it was Aryanised and rectified,

4. Vide, the *Bhāvaprakāśan*, Baroda Ed. (1930), p. 312.
5. बंगालदेशसम्भूता बंगाली।
6. मठ शिवतले सिंह जू वैठाहि।
7. शिवको ध्यान वहई।

and its *dhyāna* was conceived like the classical *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* ; (4) In the fourth stage, the *rāgiṇī* was very famous in the North-Western side of India and many Hindi *dhyāna-śloka* was composed. Then the *rāgiṇī* was very popular. It is sung in the morning time, when the atmosphere of the Nature remains calm and serene. Nearly all the *bhāṣā-rāgas* or *rāgiṇis* of the *rāga-bhairava* and *bhairava* itself are sung in early in the morning when darkness of night is removed by the vermillion rays of the sun.

B

ĀDI-RĀGA BHAIRAVA

The *rāga-bhairava* is also a folk tune of the aboriginal and mountainous tribe Bhairava (commonly known as Bhairavā). Paṇḍit Sāradātanaya wrote in the *Bhāvaprakāśan* :

पुरे जनपदेऽरण्ये वसन्त स्वैरचारिणः ।
मांसाशिनो मधूरता-मतमांसवलिक्रियाः ॥
बिदुरलोकयात्राश्च रूरूशार्दुलमेखलाः ।
आविस्पष्टपदालापा भैरवा ईत्युदीरिताः ।

Besides, there were Śakārā, Ābhirā, Pulinda, Śavarā, and Hālikā.[8] All these aboriginal tribes were very fond of music, and though their music were very crude, simple, and monotonous, yet they were possessed of tune of their own. Paṇḍit Dāmodara (17th century A.D.) mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* : "*bhairavaḥ ādi-rāgaḥ*" i.e. *bhairava* is the first and foremost *rāga* among all *rāgas*. But in the pre-*Darpaṇa* literature, *bhairava* is neither mentioned as first one among the *rāgas*, nor as a prime *rāga*, and it is interesting to note that the first appearance of *bhairava* happened in the 11th-13th century A.D. It was Pārśvadeva, the Jain musicologist, who mentioned the *rāga-bhairava* together with the *rāgiṇī-bhairavī* for the first time in his work, *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* : "*yathā bhairavajātya bhairavya aṁśakaḥ punaḥ.*" Pārśvadeva gave detail description of both

8. Ibid, pp. 311-312.

bhairava and *bhairavī*, with their definite characteristics, forms, and distinctive features. We get a reference of the word '*bhairava*' in Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī* (later than 9th century A.D.): "*bhairavaḥ kāmadaśchaiva .....*" But this word signifies a *tāna* of the *madhyama-grāma*, and not a *rāga* : "(*iti*)*madhyama-grāma... auḍuvita-tāna-nāmāni.*" Did Mataṅga mean *tāna* as *rāga* ? No, that is not possible, as there is a great difference between a *tāna* and a *rāga*. So it is evident that *bhairava* was absolutely absent in the pre-*Samayasāra* literature of music.

It is a historical fact that many of the *rāgas* or melody-types of Indian music, both Northern and Southern, are the products of mixture of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements. It has already been said that in the *Bṛhaddeśī*, we find the names of many aboriginal nomadic tribes who had music with two or three notes which were known as the *gāthika*, and *sāmika* types of *gāna*, and Mataṅga said that their music were not *mārga* (*mārgitatvāt mārgaḥ*) or chased classical ones. Those socalled non-Aryan tribes were the Śabara, Pulinda, Kāmboja, Vaṅga, Vahlika, Kirāta, etc. But Mataṅga was not wholly correct. The Vedic music was possessed of five notes with downward movement (*avarohaṇa-gati*), and this kind of ancient pentatonic form of music is found in the systems of music of Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Chaldia, Assyria, China, Japan and other nations.

It is a fact that the folk music of the non-Aryan tribes enriched the stock of the Aryan music with their tunes, tones, and modes. We often find the reference of a aboriginal tribe Bhairava who lived in the dense forests of the lower valleys of the Himālaya mountains, and it has been said before that Paṇḍit Sāradātanaya mentioned it in the *Bhāvaprakāśan*. It is said that the Bhairavas were very fond of music like the Gandharvas of the north-western province, known as Gāndhāra (modern Kāndāhār near Kābul). It is said that the Bhiravas used to come down the lower valleys of the mountains and came in contact with the people who lived in the planes. Bharata said in the *Nātyaśāstra* (2nd century A.D.) that the

Gandharvas were very fond of music, *gāndharva* which was composed of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*: "*svara-tāla-padātmakaṃ.*" The *gāndharva* type of music evolved with the materials of the Vedic music and so it was known as the chased one or *mārga*. Some are of the opinion that *gāndharva* type of music was named after the tribe *Gandharva*. Similarly it is believed that *bhairava* and *bhairavī* (*rāga* and *rāgiṇī*) were the principal tunes of the nomadic Bhirava tribe, and the Aryans borrowed them and incorporated them in their sophisticated high way music perhaps in or about the 9th-11th century A.D. They also maintain that in the later period, mythico-philosophical interpretation was given to those *rāgas*, and then it was believed that those *rāgas* (*rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*) evolved from the mouth of Śiva, and afterwards *bhairavī* was conceived as the divine consort of *bhairava*.

We have already said that many of the *rāgas* were named after the tribes, countries, and provinces of India, and the authors of the *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgīta-Makaranda*, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* mentioned about the *rāgas*, *pulindikā*, *ṭhakka* or *takka*, *takka-kauśīka*, *āndhālī*, *āndhrī*, *saurāṣtrī*, *sauvirī* or *sauvirikā*, *gurjarī*, *abhirī* or *āhirī*, *dākṣiṇātyā*, *paurālī*, *botta* or *bhotta*, *botta-kauśīka*, *potta*, *turuṣka-toḍī* or *toḍikā* or *tuḍikā*, *turuṣka-gauḍa etc.* The *rāga botta* or *bhotta*, we know, was incorporated from the Bhotadeśa (Bhutān etc.) of the Himalayan regions. Similarly there is an amazing history about the origin of *toḍī* or *toḍikā* and *turuṣka-toḍī*. There was a time when many of the regional tunes were rectified and incorporated in the stock of the classical music by the broad-minded musicians and musicologists of India. The civilized Aryan community did not neglect to include many of the tunes of different tribes and provinces, so as to enrich the domain of Indian music.

It is believed by some scholars that in the Buddhist *Matsya-jātaka* (2nd-3rd century A.D.) there occurs the name of a *meghagīti*. It is mentioned in that *Jātaka* that one day Bhagavān Buddha reached the Jetavana-Bihāra and desired to take bath in the tank. Buddha's disciples were with him, Buddha's

foremost disciple, Ānanda found that a tank was nearly empty. So he invoked Maghavan Indra to pour sufficient showers from the clouds. He prayed with a peculiar tune to Indra and his sincere prayer was granted by Indra. Maghavan Indra came down with his attendants with delight and poured heavy showers by singing the *meghagīti*, and the tank (*sarovara*) of the Jetavana was full to the brim. Tathāgata Buddha was very pleased to take bath in the tank and afterwards entered the Jetavana-Bihāra. Some scholars conclude that the *meghagīti* or *meghagana*, sung by Maghavan and his attendants, is no other than the *meghagīti* or *megharāga*. But their conjecture is not correct, as the *megharāga* was not created by Indra, or by the clouds, though the *rāga*, *megha* invoke and attract the clouds and the rainy atmosphere. Further it should be remembered that the compilation of the *Jātakas* were in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. Bharata compiled the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the 2nd century A.D. So it can easily be conceived that the *rāgas*, which were prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era, were mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We know that in the pre-Christian times, the *jātirāga-gānas* were in practice, and Vālmikī mentioned eight kinds of *jātirāga-gāna* in the 4th canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.). Vālmikī said that Lava and Kuśa were the wandering Bards, and they used to present the verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in tune before the Royal court of Rāmachandra, with classical melodies of the *jātirāgas*. The *jātis* were the causal or source-*rāgas*, from which all the *rāgas* were evolved in the later period. Bharata said : "*jāti-sambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāṇī*." Therefore, it is a fact that if the *meghagīti* with *megharāga* were in practice in the 2nd-3rd century A.D., then Bharata would have described, or would have mentioned it in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But we do not find any trace of the *gīti* or *rāga* like *megha* in NS. So all the writers on music are of the opinion that *megharāga* evolved in the latter period, even after the existence of *mallāra* or *mallārikā* (*malhāra*=*mala-hāra*) which means the destroyer or purifier of the *malas* or dusts of the air. Further it is said that if the *megharāga* was in

practice in or before the 2nd-3rd century A.D., then its antiquity might have been recognised by Bharata. In fact, *bhairava* is claimed historically as an import of the 9th-11th century A.D., and the *megha* evolved after *mallāra*.

The majority of the scholars are of the opinion that *rāgas*, *megha* and *mallāra* are different and the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* and most of the post-*Darpaṇa* literature on music and specially the *Senī ghārāṇā*, established by Miāṅ Tānsen and his descendants, admit it. Paṇḍit Somanāth (17th century A.D.) mentioned in his *Rāgavibodha* that *mallāra* (*malhāra*) and *mallārikā* are different *rāgas* of different times. It is interesting to note that the ancient authors on music unanimously admitted that the *mallāra* or *malhāra* is earlier than *megha*, whereas the later authors of the 16th-17th century described *mallāra* as the consort (*rāgiṇī*) or a subordinate *rāga* of *megha*. This controversial matter can be put in this way that though the human society is ever-changing, yet their history of evolution cannot be ignored. History may repeat itself with its past and present records and annals, but its past happenings remain the same and unchanged as records. So, though the later writers on music described *mallāra* as a subordinate *rāga* of *megha*, yet history does not say so.

Now, leaving aside the controversial discussions on *megha* and *mallāra*, we can say that although *bhairava* as a folk or tribal tune existed in the non-Aryan stock of the tribe Bhirava, who lived in the forest of the lower valley of the Himālayans, yet it did not appear in the civilized Aryan community before the 9th-11th century A.D. Now, most of the authors consider *bhairava* as the topmost and important *rāga* not for its priority of origin, but for its superior æsthetic quality and merit of excellence. In the present society, *bhairava* breathes the air of a great solemnity, divine grandeur and surpassing æsthetic quality and beauty. Three predominant emotional sentiments (*rasas*) like *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta*, *bhayānaka* and *karuṇa* are inherent in the tones and tunes of *bhairava*, and they are the best and divine in their manifestations. Though there are many *bhāvas*,

anubhāva, *vibhāva* and *vyabhichārī-bhāva*, yet their predominant *bhāvas* bring celestial peace and happiness to the artists.

Now, before discussing about the predominant and inherent sentiments in the *rāga bhairava*, let us discuss about what do we mean by the word, *rāga*. A *rāga* is constructed out of the ascending-descending orders of notes or tones, having ten distinctive characteristics or essentials like *graha*, *aṁśa*, *nyāsa*, *alpatva*, *bahutva*, etc. Some scholars do not admit existence of of any *rāga* in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, though Bharata mentioned and defined the *jātirāga* or *jāti* with the help of ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇa*) in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A *rāga* is like a colour that tinges everything and creates a calm and soothing sentiment and mood (*bhāva*) in the minds of all beings. So the artists of Indian music regard a *rāga* not as a structure of notes or sounds, but as a living emotional aspect, having in it ethical and spiritual values. They say that tones and tunes are the bare outlines or skeletons of a *rāga*, so they require flesh and blood for its complete and healthy mani-
festation. It requires life-force and vigour, and so the artists admit that the emotional sentiment and spiritual fervour are the real form of a *rāga*, and for manifesting as well as for representing a *rāga*, those sentiment and fervour must be revived. Tones and tunes are only the medium of the mani-
festation of the *rāgas*. So the authors on music describe the *rāgas* as living and divine, nay, as the living embodiments of the Divinity. They saw the materialized forms of the *rāgas* in their ecstatic visions. They composed the contemplative compositions or *dhyānas* according to the temper of their tonal structures. They determined their respective essentials (*lakṣanas*), qualities (*guṇas*), emotional sentiments (*rasas*) and moods (*bhāvas*). They say that a *rāga* can be visualised by the representation of correct construction. A true artist gets a divine vision of *rāga* by objectifying his subjective ideas, coloured by the emotions or sentiments in a sensuous form and, therefore, he projects outwardly his inner spirit through

the medium of tones and tunes, so as to enjoy its unearthly divine beauty and greatness.

Both the musicians and the musicologists know that the authors of music classified the *rāgas* into three main classes, masculine, feminine, and neuter, according to their graver, softer and, intermediate temperaments as well as to their predominant emotional sentiments and characters. They lay stress upon their psychological aspects too. They determine their superior and inferior grades from the standpoint of æsthetic or emotional values. Like other *rāgas*, the *rāga bhairava* is saturated with æsthetic beauty and lustre, so it creates and also generates different emotional moods (*bhāvas*) that stir and attract the minds of everyone.

Now let us consider about the priority and greatness (*mahimā*) of the *rāga bhairava*, as have been described by Paṇḍit Dāmodara in the *Saṅgīta-Darpaṇa*: "*bhairavaḥ ādi-rāgaḥ*". We know from the music literature of not later than the period from 9th to 11th century that *bhairava* possesses mainly three emotional sentiments or *rasas*, though all the *rāgas* are possessed of eight or nine or ten *rasas*. Muni Bharata (2nd A.D.) described eight *rasas*, and they are: *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *veera*, *bhayānaka*, *vibhatsa*, and *adbhūta*. In fact, Bharata admitted only four basic *rasas* like *śṛṅgāra*, *raudra*, *veera*, and *vibhatsa*, and from them successively evolved the four *rasas* like *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *adbhūta*, and *bhayānaka*, according to genus-species or cause-effect theory (vide the *Nātyaśāstra*, VI. 15, 39-41). There are some constant moods (*sthāyī-bhāvas*) and also subordinate *bhāvas*, in each of the *rasas*. Besides Bharata, Abhinavagupta, Bhojarāja, Dhánañjaya, Dhanika, Viśvanāth Chakravarty, Sāradātanaya, Bhattalollāta, Śaṅkuka, Bhatta-nāyaka, Paṇḍitrāja Jaggannāth and others divided the *rasas* into many aspects, according to their distinctive features and manifestations. Bharata preferred *śṛṅgāra* better than *śānta*, so he defined *rasa*, *śṛṅgāra* as the prime one (*ādi-rasa*). He has said: "*tatra śṛṅgāra rāma rati-sthāyībhāva-prabhāvaḥ ujjvalaveśātmakaḥ*". *Samvit* or *chetanā* and *anubhava* i.e. experience

and knowledge are the vital power (*prāṇa*) of the *rasa* *śṛṅgāra*. *Śṛṅgāra* generates *kāma* or desire (to create), which is divine and not sexual. In the *Upaniṣad*, we find that before projection of the world-process the (determinate) Brāhmaṇ, *Īśvara* said : "*eko'haṃ vahusyāṃ*" i.e. 'I am one and secondless, now for creation i.e. projection of the manifold universe, I shall be many'. The *Bhāgavata* said that this desire (*kāma*) to create or project (the world-appearance) originates from the heart or mind of the Brahmā (as Brahmā is known as the Cosmic Mind) : "*kāmastu brāhmaṇo hṛdayājjātaḥ*" or "*hṛdi kāmo bhruvoḥ krodho-labhachadharadacchadāt*". This *śṛṅgāra* is *alaukika* and *divyasvarūpa*, and it is the medium for projection of all the sentient and insentient beings and matters. In the *Bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvalanilamani*, Svarūpa Gosvāmī said that the *bhaktirasa* or divine love originated from *śṛṅgāra*. Madhusudana Sarasvatī also admitted it. This prime *rasa śṛṅgāra* is possessed of *sattva-guṇa*, which is shining and pure, and it helps all to cut asunder the knots of cycles of birth and rebirth. While defining and describing about the *ādi-rasa śṛṅgāra*, Dr. V. Rāghavan mentioned in his monumental book, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* : "It is called *śṛṅgāra* not only as one that takes man to the ecme of perfection but also because it is Love, it is the very life of *ātmayoni* or *kāma*, *Kāma* is not meant here as sexual love, even as *śṛṅgāra* is not used by Bhoja here in the sense of love between man and woman and even as Bhoja's *ahaṁkāra* here is not egotism" : "*ātmasthitaṃ guṇa-viśeṣamahamkṛtaṃ śṛṅgāramahuriha jivitāmatma-yoni*" etc.[9] *Śṛṅgāra* is divided into *dharma-śṛṅgāra*, *artha-śṛṅgāra*, *kāma-śṛṅgāra* and *mokṣa-śṛṅgāra* according to *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, which are known as *chaturvarga*. Dr. Rāghavan wrote : "This *kāma*, *ahaṁkāra*, *abhimāna* or *śṛṅgāra* of the *pūrva-koti* then passes into manifold *bhāvas* in the *madhyamāvasthā*. The first major manifestation of the *ahaṁkāra* is into the four kinds of man's attachment to and pursuit after four aims

9. Vide, the second revised edition, 1963, p. 452.

or springs of all human action, the *puruṣārthas*, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. Dhārarāj Bhoja already said that this *ahaṁkāra* or *abhimāna* lies at the basis of *chaturvarga—chaturvargāika-karaṇaṃ*. Bhoja, therefore, classified *śṛṅgāra* into *dharma-śṛṅgāra*, *artha-śṛṅgāra*, *kāma-śṛṅgāra*, and *mokṣa-śṛṅgāra*; meaning the respective activities of man towards the achievement of the four *puruṣārthas*".[10] Similarly Bharata defined that *kāma* or desire originated from *śṛṅgāra* at an absolute divine love.

Abhinavagupta expounded the *rasa*-theory from the *dvani* or *vyañjanā* viewpoint. Shri G. N. Bhatta wrote in the introduction of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: "Abhinavagupta's new system of æsthetic enjoyment is fully based on Bharata's *Rasasūtra* and Bharata's explanation of the process of enjoyment of *rasa* as contained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He has established that *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhichārī-bhāva* or permanent receptive moods of different *rasas* situated within the careful and attentive spectators develop into different *rasas* so that they may be enjoyed by the spectators. ....It is, therefore, proved by Abhinavagupta that *vyañjanā-vṛtti* plays a greater role in the process of *rasānubhāva* through poems, dramatic performances and tasteful food".[11] Now it should be noticed that Abhinavagupta mainly dealt the *rasa*-theory for *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, and *sāhitya*, and while commenting upon Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he elaborately explained the *rasa*-theory for music and dance and also for dramatic performance.

Dhanañjaya, Viśvanāth Chakravarty, and Sarādātanaya respectively discussed the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and also with the problems of other *rasas* in the *Dasarūpaka*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and *Bhāvaprakāśan*, but their interpretations of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* are somewhat different. Now the *śṛṅgārarasa-niṣpatti* i.e. accomplishment of the prime-*rasa* *śṛṅgāra* and also that the *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka*, and other *rasas* that are contained in the *rāga*,

10. Vide, the *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*, 1963, p. 455.
11. Vide, Baroda Ed., Vol. II.

bhairava must be different from others. The Vaiṣṇava philosopher also considered *śṛṅgāra* as the best possible means to enjoy the celestial love (*paramaprema*) of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Rādhā as well as their divine communion. Kavi Jayadeva of the Kendubilva (in West Bengal) has written the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* being inspired with the prime-sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*. His Sanskrit-Bengali musical pieces are devoted to the divine description of the sportive play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and that sportive play (*līlā*) is known as *ādi-rasātmaka*. There *śṛṅgāra* and *kāma* have been transformed into *paramaprema* or celestial Love. Kavi Jayadeva described Śrī Kṛṣṇa as an embodiment of *śṛṅgāra* : "*śṛṅgāra sakhi mūrtimāniva madhau-mugdhonahariḥ kṛḍati*". The stone figures of Natas and Natis (male and female dancers) on the walls and facades of the temple and Nātmandir of the Lord Jagannāth at Purī and Konārk temple of the Sungod also represent the expression of *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. Though the figures look as ordinarily obscene, yet they appear to the creative vision of the artists and seers of truth and beauty as the divine representation of the beautiful.

The *karuṇa-rasa* which is contained in the *rāga*, *bhairava*, is also divine. It brings in close contact with the all-love *Īśvara* without making separation from Him. The *karuṇa-rasa* of *bhairava* brings *nirveda* or *vairāgya* instead of involving men in sorrow and pain. It is to be noted that there are different degrees of manifestation of each emotional sentiment. Besides, *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta* and *karuṇa-rasas* of *bhairava* are equal in intensity and expression to those of the *āśāvarī* and *jayajayantī* *rāgas*. As for example, though the *karuṇa-rasa* of *bhairava* is soft and bent in nature, yet it is grave and majestic with serenity and devotional joy, whereas that of *āśāvarī* expresses sorrow and melancholy for the departed ones. So every emotional sentiment has a different and distinctive feature of manifestation in different *rāgas*. The *bhayānaka-rasa* that lies in the *bhairava-rāga* is also majestic and serene without bringing any awful and fierceful mood or aspect.

It has been said that *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is recognized as the best and hightest emotional aspect from the artistic as well as from the æsthetic standpoint. Otherwise true lovers and sādhakas of music regard *śānta-rasa* as the best medium of concentration and meditation upon the contemplative forms of the *rāgas*. They say that mind in essence is a divine and shining element, and when its modifications (*vṛttis*) are controlled and calmed, it turns into its real state of pure consciousness (*chaitanya*), but with its phenomenal contingent form, it enchants or deludes all and binds all in the net of divergent desires. So seekers after Truth and Divine Love try to go beyond its phenomenal reach or attraction, and concentrate its manifold modifications and meditate upon the divine goal. The *śānta-rasa* generates calmness of the mind and it calms down the unruly waves of the mental sea and brings permanent peace and balance of mind and tranquility, and so some later *Śāstrakāras* recognize *śānta-rasa* as the prime and sublime sentiment.

Now, what is *śānta-rasa*? Abhinavagupta said in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, the commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: "*atha śānto nāma sama-sthāyībhāvātmako mokṣa-pravartakaḥ. Sa tu tattva-jñāna-vairāgyasaya-śuddhyādibhirvibhavaiḥ samutpadyate*" etc. In fact, he said that *śānta-rasa* is prescribed as a means to highest happiness It arises from a desire to secure *mokṣa* or liberation of the self and tends to knowledge of Truth. The *śānta-rasa* is a state wherein one feels oneness towards all creatures, wherein there is no pain, no unhappiness, no hatred, and no envy. *Śānta* is one's natural state of the mind or *prakṛti*. In the *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, Rudratā also admitted: "*samyagjñāna-prakṛti śānto*" etc. i.e. *śānta-rasa* has for its cause (*sthāyībhāva*) right knowledge, which dispells ignorance and bondage. In the *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana also said in a similar way. Lochana also admitted the view of Ānandavardhana. Like *śānta-rasa*, *śṛṅgāra-rasa* also originates from the same *sthāyībhāva* that brings right knowledge and eternal peace of mind. But Bharata did not recognise *śānta-rasa* as a sentiment. He said that the first and foremost

rasa, *śṛṅgāra* brings, in a correct way, the perfect balance of the mind, and enables men and women to control their mind and meditate upon the causal sound, the Śabda-Brahman. The Śabda-Brahman is called by Pāṇinī, Patañjalī and Bhatṛharī as *Sphota*. The Bible calls it the Word. It is known in Tantra as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, which sleeps in the bed of the *mūlādhāra* (basic lotus) in the form of the coiling serpent. It is called by the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas as the Will of God, and by Sāṅkhya and Vedānta as the Prakṛti or Cosmic Will. Regarding the sentiments, *karuṇa* and *bhayānaka*, which form the categories of *rāga bhairava*, we have already explained that *karuṇa-rasa* generally signifies a pitiful and sympathetic attitude that brings melancholy, grief, sorrow, despair, and disappointment etc. But *karuṇa-rasa* of *bhairava* never expresses or generates such gay moods or attitudes, rather it brings the sympathetic and blissful attitude and is helpful to *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta*. In fact, *karuṇa-rasa* of *bhairava* brings balance of mind, creates harmony between the internal temperament of mind and the external atmosphere of the Nature. Similarly, it has already been said that *bhayānaka-rasa* generally expresses the attitude of terror and fear, but *bhayānaka-rasa* that forms the category of the *rāga bhairava*, never brings terror and fear in one's mind, rather it creates an attitude of awe and reverence as well as divine submission (*prapatti*) in the mind and thus helps men to attend the state of *nirveda* (*vairāgya*) or detachment to the ephimeral materials of the deceitful world.

So, although *bhairava* is known as a *rāga* of the later origin according to the historians, yet it excells all the *rāgas* in its merit and surpassing æsthetic quality. *Bhairava* is divided into many forms (*rūpas*) like *śivamata-bhairava*, *ānanda-bhairava*, *āhir-bhairava*, etc. with the mixture of other *rāgas*, but the *bhairava*, which is constituted out of the tones, Sa Re (flat), Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha (flat), Ni having its movement with Sa, Ma, Pa, Dha (flat), Ni, Sa—Re (flat, high), Ni, Dha (flat), Pa, Ma, Pa, Ma, Re (flat), Sa, is the pure and basic one. The movement of the tone, Sa to Ma of the *śuddha-bhairava*, creates *śṛṅgāra*,

or *śānta-rasa* with calmness and balance of mind, the movements of Ga, Ma, Re (flat), Sa and also the curving Dha (flat) create *karuṇa-rasa* with humility and detachment of mind, and the curving and clustering tones in *ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa* of the *śuddha-bhairava* create *bhayānaka-rasa* when they are produced rapidly in grave *tāna* or *gitkiri* forms. The *bhairava* is known as the *sandhi-prakāśa-rāga*, because this melody-type is presented or produced in the confluent period of the night and the day. It is produced just after the *rāgiṇī*, *lalita* which breaks the sleeps of all living beings, and it removes the darkness of ne-science and bestow light of knowledge. The *rāga bhairava* manifests itself before the sunrise and thus prepares the ground for rising of the brilliant vermillion sun. At this time the whole atmosphere of the Nature remains in complete balance and peace, and brings balance also in the breathing current of air in the nostrils. The *bhairava* helps to the process of *prāṇāyama* or breathing exercise, and calms down all modifications (*vṛttis*) and all diversions of the mind. The sādhakas of music have discovered a harmony between tune and form of the *rāga bhairava* in the calm and serene atmosphere of the morning, and they believe that *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta-rasa* predominates in the confluent of the night and the day i.e. in the morning. The *rāga bhairava* is, therefore, the bestower of permanent peace and eternal happiness, and for this reason it has been recognised as the prime *rāga* (*ādi-rāga*) in the list or chart of the *rāgas*. It is the foremost and prime *rāga* from the standpoint of its æsthetic and spiritual contents and appeal.

CHAPTER SIX

DEVELOPMENT OF RĀGA VASANTA

Vasanta is an ancient seasonal *rāga*. It evolved between the time of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) and Pārśvadeva (seventh or ninth-eleventh century A.D.). Mataṅga discussed about the *rāgas, hindola, mālavakauśīka,* (not *mallakauśīka*), *kakubha, saindhavī,* etc. in his *Bṛhaddeśī*, but why he remained silent about the *rāga vasanta*, it is not known. Mataṅga mainly followed his predecessors, Kaśyapa, Kohala, [illegible]ṣṭika, Tumburu and others (third-fifth century A.D.), and as they did not discuss the *rāga vasanta*, so Mataṅga also remained silent. Pārśvadeva described *vasanta*, along with the *rāgas, bhairava, bhairavī, hindola, madhyamādi, chāyānata, mallāra,* etc. Perhaps the *rāgas, bhairava* and *bhairavī* evolved in or sometime before the ninth-eleventh century A.D. and they have been discussed before. Pārśvadeva classified *vasanta* in the *rāgāṅga* group and considered it as subordinate (*aṅga*) *rāga* of the *mārga-hindola*. From this we come to know that *vasanta* evolved from the *mārga-hindola* : '*mārga-hindola-rāgāṅgaṃ*', etc. Pārśvadeva said that *vasanta* is a pentatonic (*auḍava*) *rāga*, as the notes *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* are absent from it. Its sonant, initial and final notes are tonic (*ṣaḍja*). It makes itself manifest in the space extended from the *madhyama* (note) of the high octave to *ṣaḍja* of the middle one. The first and fifth notes generally vibrate (*kampita*). Its dominant æsthetic sentiment is of the nature of primal creative urge or *śṛṅgāra* ('*śṛṅgare viniyujyate*'), and it brings detachment from all desires ('*nirveda*').

Nārada of the *Saṅgīta-makaranda* (fifteenth-sixteenth century) included *vasanta* in the list of the masculine *rāgas* ('*puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ*'). He said that it is also known as '*śuddha-vasanta*' or pure type of *vasanta* ('*vasantaṃ śuddha-sañjñaśca*'). Mammatāchārya considered *vasanta* as the root or p[illegible]nt *rāga* (*janaka-*



RAGA VASANTA

(Jodhapur Collection, Early 18th Century A. D.)

rāga), and *bhairava, revagupta, tanka,* etc. evolved from it. Someśvara admitted this view. But in the early thirteenth century A.D. Śārangadeva described *vasanta* in a different way. He said that *vasanta* evolved from *hindola,* which had its origin even before the time of Matanga (fifth-seventh century). Śārangadeva designated *vasanta as deśī-hindola,* as both the *rāgas, hindola* and *vasanta* are sung on the occasion of the sacred spring or *holi* festival (*vasantotsava*). The difference between *vasanta* and *hindola* lies in the fact that *vasanta* is heptatonic, whereas *hindola* is pentatonic in form, devoid of the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata.*

Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) called *vasanta* as *śuddha-vasanta* in the *Savaramelakalānidhi.* He differed from Śārangadeva regarding the form of the *rāga vasanta,* as *vasanta* is hexa-heptatonic (*ṣāḍava-sampūrṇa*) in form, the fifth note, *pañchama* being absent in the ascent. In the *Rāgasāgara,* ascribed to Nārada-Dattila, *vasanta* is described as a male (*puruṣa*) *rāga.* It is sober and at the same time majestic in its nature. In the *Rāgārṇava,* as quoted in the *Śārāṅgadara-paddhati, vasanta* is described as the fourth subordinate (*bhāṣā*) *rāga* to *bhairava.* Puṇḍarika-Viṭṭhala supported the view of Pārśvadeva and said in the *Rāgamālā* that *vasanta* is known as one of the sons (subordinate *rāga*) of *hindola,* being evolved from it. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) maintained a different view, because he took *vasanta* as a parent *rāga* (*janaka-rāga*), and *hindola* to have evolved from it. But, from the historical viewpoint, Somanāth's estimation seems untenable, as the origin of *hindola* is prior to *vasanta,* which is proved by Matanga's *Bṛhaddeśī.* Paṇḍit Dāmodara describeed *vasanta* as heptatonic, having sonant (*vādī*), initial (*graha*) and final (*nyāsa*) notes as tonic (*ṣaḍja*). There are differences of opinion regarding the structure of *vasanta.* Its tonal form, as current in the present Hindusthānī and Carnātic systems of music, appears different in many respects from the ancient one. Besides, the traditional form of *śuddha-vasanta,* as used in the present system of music, is also different in different schools of music. As

for example, in almost all the *dhruvapadas* and *padāvali-kirtanas* of Bengal, *vasanta* i.e. *śuddha-vasanta* is used with its penta-hexatonic (*auḍava-ṣāḍava*) form, as sharp (*śuddha*) *dhaivata*, and sharp and displaced *madhyama*, and *pañchama* are dropped (*varjita*). From this it is understood that *vasanta*, as used in the present Hindusthānī system of music, with its displaced (*komala*) *dhaivata* and *pañchama*, can be called as *paraja-vasanta*.

In the South Indian system of music, we generally find three types of *vasanta*, and they are : *vasanta*, *śuddha-vasanta* and *rāga-vasanta*, which differ from one another in their tonal forms. Besides them, there are other variants of *vasanta*, which originate from the mixture of different *rāgas*. They are : *kala-vasanta*, *kalyāna-vasanta*, *gopī* or *gopikā-vasanta*, *bhoga-vasanta*, *vasanta-bhairavī*, *vasanta-mukhārī*, *vāsanta-vaḍāri*, *vīra-vasanta*, *vāhāra-vasanta* or *vasanta-vāhāra*, *hindola-vasanta*, etc. It is interesting to note that all these variants imbibe the spirit and atmosphere of the *rāga vasanta*.

We get a heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) form of *vasanta* with sharp (*śuddha*) *dhaivata*, and *pañchama*, which, it is said, came down from the Kheyāliā and Veeṇkāra lines of Miāṅ Tānsen. Again we get an old type of *vasanta*, possessed of penta-heptatonic (*auḍava-sampūrṇa*) form. Its tonal arrangements are : 'sa ga ma dha ni, sa ni dha ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ni dha, pa ma ga re, sa'. In the Senī school of music, we find a form of *vasanta* with *pañchama* : 'sa ga ma-dha ni-dha-sa, -ni-re ni-dha-pa ma ga, ma-ga-ri-sa, sa-ma · ma-ga, ma-dha-ni-sa', etc. Besides, we come across another type of *vasanta*, devoid of *pañchama*, and all other notes are sharp or *śuddha*. Its tonal structure consists of the notes, in both ascent and descent : 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga ri/ sa'. Saṅgīta-Nāyaka Gopeśvara Banerjee said that Miāṅ Tānsen and his followers composed this type of *rāga*, but we do not know whether it is historically true or not. This type of *vasanta* is composed of sharp *śuddha-madhyama* and displaced (*komala*) *niṣāda*, but the note *pañchama* is dropped. The tonal arrangement of this type is : 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga, ma ga ri/ sa'.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanāchārya said in the *Saṅgīta-sudarśana* that the displaced *ṛṣabha*, sharp *gāndhāra*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda*, and both the sharp and displaced *madhyamas* are the special features of the *rāga vaśanta*. In the ascent (*ārohaṇe*), *ṛṣabha* and *pañchama* are generally dropped, and in the descent (*avarohaṇe*), *ṛṣabha* is used in lesser number. Therefore the tonal arrangement of *vasanta* is : 'ni sa ga dha ma-ma-ma, ga ga ri/ sa ni dha pa-ma dha-ni sa/ ma-ma ga, ma-ma-ga sa sa-ni sa ri-sa ni-dha sa, ma-ga-ri sa/ sa ma dha ni dha pa ma dha-ma ga-ri sa/ sa ga ma dha sa dha-ni sa ga-ri sa, sa ni dha pa ma dha ma ga ri sa', etc. Sudarśanāchārya said that this type of *vasanta* is adopted by the Dhrupadists, whereas the Kheyālists use a different type. Rādhāmohan Sen described it in the *Saṅgīta-taraṅga* in a different way. He said that *vasanta* with a displaced *dhaivata* and *ṛṣabha*, together with *pañchama*, is known as *paraja-vasanta*. This view of Rādhāmohan Sen is accepted especially in the Bengal School of Music. Again there are differences of opinion, regarding the male-female principle of the *rāga vasanta*. Some hold that *vasanta* is a *rāga*, and not *rāgiṇī*, while *vāsantī* or *vāsantikā* is recognized as *rāgiṇī*. Śāraṅgadeva included *vasanta* in the category of *rāgāṅga*. Perhaps, in the end of the nineteenth, or in the beginning of the twentieth century, we get various types of *vasanta*, evolved out of the basic scales, *vilābala*, *pūrvī*, *āśāvarī*, *mārowā* and *bhairavī*, which are equivalent to the South Indian basic scales, *śaṅkarābharaṇa*, *māyāmalavagaula*, *kāmavardhanī*, *nata-bhairavī*, *gamakakriyā* and *hanumāna-toḍi*. From the basic scale *pūrvī*, two types of *vasanta* evolved. In the above mentioned seven types of *vasanta*, we notice that the notes, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhārva*, *madhyama*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* have been used as both sharp and chromatic, i.e. *śuddha* and *komala* (sharp and flat). Besides them, we find different settings of note in *vasanta* in the South Indian system, and they are,

(*Italics indicate flat notes*)

(1) *Rāga-vasanta*—sa *re* ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* ma pa ma, ma ga *re* sa.

(2) *Vasanta*—sa ga ma *dha* ni sa—sa ni *dha* ma ga *ri* sa.
(3) *Śuddha-vasanta*—sa ri ga ma pa ni sa—sa dha ni pa ni ga ri sa.

Besides these three types, there are different types of *vasanta*, which are known as: *kanaka-vasanta*, *kala-vasanta*, *kalyāṇa-vasanta*, *gopikā-vasanta*, *bhoga-vasanta*, *vasanta-bhairavī*, *vasanta-mukhārī*, *vasanta-varālī*, *vīra-vasanta*, *hindola-vasanta*, *gambhīra-vasanta*, *vasanta-velābalī*, *vasanta-bhairava*, *tīvra-vasanta*, *vasanta-chandrikā*, *lalita-vasanta*, *vasanta-pañchama*, *māyūra-vasanta*, *ṣāḍava-vasanta*, *vasanta-kumārī* or *kumārī-vasanta*, *komala-vasanta*, *māru-vasanta*, etc. The tonal structures of some of them are:

(1) *Kanaka-vasata*—sa *ga* ma pa *ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma *ga* ri sa (=hexa-heptatonic or *ṣāḍava-sampūrṇa*. *Ṛṣabha* is sharp (*śuddha*), and *ṛṣabha* is left in the descent (*avarohaṇe*).
(2) *Kala-vasanta*—sa *ga ma* pa dha ni (dha) sa—sa ni (dha) pa *ma ga* sa (*niṣāda* is used as sharp, and it is composed of four microtones, and is known as *tīvra-dhaivata*).
(3) *Kalyāṇa-vasanta*—sa *ga* ma *dha* ni sa—sa ni *dha* pa ma *ga* ri sa (penta-hexatonic).
(4) *Gopikā-vasanta*—sa ma pa *ni dha ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma *ga* sa (penta-hexatonic).
(5) *Bhoga-vasanta*—sa *ri* ga *ma dha* ni sa—sa ni *dha ma* ga *ri* sa (hexa-hexatonic).
(6) *Vasanta-bhairava*—sa *ri* ga ma *dha ni* sa—sa *ni dha* ma pa ma ga *ri* sa (hexa-heptatonic).
(7) *Vasanta-mukhārī*—sa ma ga ma pa *dha ni* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma ga *ri* sa (hexa-heptatonic).
(8) *Vasanta-varālī*—sa ri ma pa *dha ni*—*ni dha* pa *ga* ri sa *ṇi* (hexa-heptatonic).
(9) *Vīra-vasanta*—sa *ga* ri ma pa sa—sa ni (dha=) *ni* pa ma *ga* ri sa (penta-hexatonic).
(10) *Hindola-vasanta*—sa ga ma pa *dha ni dha* sa—sa *ni dha* pa ma *ga dha* ma *ga* sa (*ṛṣabha* is left; hexa-hexatonic).

Besides, we find the following new variants of *vasanta* :

I. *Gambhīra-vasanta—ri*, ma, ma, dha, *dha*.

II. *Tīvra-vasanta—ri*, ga, ma, dha, ni.

III. *Vasanta-velābalī*—with all the sharp (*śuddha*) notes.

It has already been said that the *rāga pañchama* possesses the same specific character of *vasanta*, which creates the environment and spirit of the spring. In the Hindusthānī system of music, *pañchama* is different from *dīpaka*. Experts differ in their opinion, regarding the form and manifestation of *dīpaka* and *pañchama*. As regards *pañchama*, Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) said : '*pañchama ri-pa-hīnaḥ syāt*', i.e., the *rāga pañchama* is pentatonic (*auḍava*) in form, as the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *pañchama*, are dropped in it. It is interesting to note that the fifth note, *pañchama* is absent from the *rāga pañchama*. Some are of the opinion that *dīpaka* and *pañchama* are one and the same *rāga*, as the ancient form of *dīpaka* was afterwards transformed into *pañchama*. But, in truth, there is no genuine proof in support of this view. In the Viṣṇupur School of Music, we get two types of *dīpaka* : one with *pañchama* and the other without it. As for example,

(a) *Dīpaka, with the note, pañchama—*
//ma dha dha ni dha sa, ni dha ma, ma, ma pa ga, *ri* sa, ṇi sa/sa ma, ma, ma, pa, ga, ma dha ni dha ni sa, sa *ri* ni, dha ni dha ma, pa-ga, ma pa ga, *ri* sa/ etc.

(b) *Dīpaka without pañchama—*
//ma dha dha, ni ni dha ma, ma ga, ma dha ni dha, ma ga, *ri* sa/ma ma, ma ga, ma dha ni sa, *ri* sa ni dha, ma ma ga, *ri* sa/etc.

Paṇḍit Sudarśanāchārya described *pañchama* as a *rāga* of the morning. He said that the *rāga pañchama* is conceived as an issue (son) of the *rāga*, *hindola-saindhavī*, with displaced (*komala*) *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata*, sharp (*śuddha*) *gāndhāra*, *madhyama* and *niṣāda*.

The tonal structure of the *rāga pañchama* is—'sa ni, *ri* sa, sa

ni *ri* ni *dha*, pa ma ga, ga ma *dha* ni, *ri* ni *dha* ma ga, *ri* sa/*ri* sa, *dha* ma ga-*ri* sa, *ri*-ni *re sa*, ma *dha*, pa ma *dha*, ma ga *ri* sa'/etc.

Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe recognised both the *rāgas*, *pañchama* and *dīpaka*, in his *Kramika-pustakamālikā* (vide Vol. V, pages 407-408 and Vol. VI, pages 40-41). He described the *rāga pañchama* in two different ways, and they are :

(a) The hexatonic (*ṣāḍava*) form —*ma*-dha-sa, ni-dha, *ma*-dha, *ma*-ga, *re*-sa, sa-ma, ga, *ma*-dha, ni-dha, ni-*ma*-dha...

(b) The heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) form—ga, *ma*-ga, *ri-sa*, ma, ma, ma-ga pa, *ma*-dha-*ma*-ma, dha-*ma*-ga, *ma*-dha-sa, sa *ri*-sa, *ri*-ni-dha, *ma*-dha-*ma*-ga-ga, *ri*-ga, *ma*-ga-*ri*-sa (with two *madhyamas*).

These two types of *pañchama* evolved from the *mārowā* scale, and they are known as the *rāga* for the night. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe said that the *rāga dīpaka* evolved from the scale *pūrvī*. Some are of the opinion that *dīpaka* has been evolved from the scale *kalyāṇa* or *vilābala*. It is hepta-heptatonic (*sampūrṇa-sampūrṇa*) in form and is recognized as the *rāga* of the evening. The tonal form of it is : 'sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-*ri*-sa, sa-ga-pa, *ma-dha*-pa, ga-*ma-dha* pa-sa, ni-sa-*re-sa*, pa, ga-pa-ga-*ri*-sa' (*ṛṣabha*, *dhaivata* and *madhyama* are displaced). In the South Indian system, the tonal forms of *pañchama* and *dīpaka* are different from one another. As for example,

(a) *Pañchama*—sa ri dha dha pa *ni* sa—sa *ni* dha ma ma *ga* ri sa (*dhaivata* and *ṛṣabha* are sharp, displaced *niṣāda*, and penta-hexatonic in form).

(b) *Dīpaka*—sa ga *ma* pa *dha* pa sa—sa ni *dha* ni pa ma ga *ri* sa (*dhaivata* and *ṛṣabha* are displaced, and penta-hexatonic in form).

Besides these two forms, there are variants of *pañchama* in the Carnātic system, and they are ; *kokila-pañchama*, *divya-pañchama*, *pūrṇa-pañchama*, *bhinna-pañchama*, *bhupāla-pañchama*, *lalita-pañchama*, *nāga-pañchama*, *śrī-pañchama*, *kāmoda-pañchama*, *āmra-pañchama*, *nata-pañchama*, *dhaivata-pañchama*, *karma-pañchama*, etc. These variants evolve from the compound form of two or more *rāgas*. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find

different types of *rāga*, like *varāti*, *toḍi*, *gauḍī*, etc. In the later period, different types of *bhairava*, *kedāra*, *gaurī*, *kāmoda*, *bāhāra*, *behāga*, *kānāḍā*, *śāraṅga*, *mallāra*, *naṭa* were devised by the creative genius of the progressive society. In the South Indian system too, we notice various forms of the above *rāgas*.

Besides the tonal forms and different music materials, æsthetic sentiments and feelings play an important role in Indian music. The emotional sentiments like serene calmness (*śānta*), compassion (*karuṇa*) and primal creative urge (*śṛṅgāra*) are predominant in the *rāga vasanta*. The sentiment of calmness (*sama*) brings a change in the corporal body (*tanu-vyabhichāra*), which is known as awe and delight. Detachment from worldly pleasures (*nirveda* or *vairāgya*) also generate from this serene sentiment. Tears well from the eyes, as a result of love and devotion. It brings mental equilibrium and control over the senses. The sentiment like compassion makes the heart soft and sympathetic. It brings also tears in the eyes, and causes sorrow, which enlightens the mind, instead of making it stupid and morbid. The prime sentiment, creative urge or *śṛṅgāra* is not an ordinary juvenile excitement or sexual passion, as it is generally believed, but it is a creative energy that brings new life and inspiration. The subordinate mood (*anubhāva*) and its effect on the body (*tanu-vyābhichāra*) are known as the tranquil happiness and desire for celestial bliss. These are the æsthetic sentiments and moods of not only of the *rāga vasanta*, but also of the *rāgas*, *hindola*, *pañchama* and *vāhāra*, etc. Some are of the opinion that *vāhāra* is a melody (*rāga*) of the sexual urge, and so it has been recognised as a *rāga* of the springs or *holi* festival. But this view is untenable. It may be a fact that the *rāga vāhāra* evolved in the later period, and it is closely connected with the *holi* festival, but it is true that the prime emotional sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*, which predominates in the *rāga vāhāra*, makes it transcending and divine. The Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava savants and the *Ālaṁkārikas* recognised *śṛṅgāra* as the sentiment *par excellence* (*ādi-rasa*). Some are of the opinion that *vāhāra* was very favourite with the mystic musician, Svāmī

Haridās of Vṛndāvana, and he introduced it in the system of classical music, as a special *rāga* for the sacred *holi* festival. But it should be investigated whether it is historically correct or not.

Now, let us see how *rāga vasanta* evolved with a novel and concrete idea in the domain of Indian music. Paṇḍit Dāmodara described *vasanta* as,

शिखण्डिबर्होच्चयबन्धा[1]चूड़ा
कर्णावतंसीकृतशोभनाम्नी ।
इन्दीवरश्यामतनुर्विलासी
वसन्तिका स्यादलिमण्डश्रीः ॥

Vasanta is described here as a male *rāga*. He is absorbed in the divine contemplation of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and is dressed himself as Kṛṣṇa. In the top of his turban, the peacock feather is attached. He made his earing of mango-leaves. His body is shining like a blue lotus. He is luxurious, yet at the same time a true worshipper of divine beauty. The shining glow of his body looks like a swarm of dark-blue bees. The mango-leaves and blooming flowers attract the bees, mad for honey, and the green grasses and flowery creepers are the symbols of Nature. Lord Kṛṣṇa is the hero (*nāyaka*) of the vernal spring, and the *rāga vasanta* represents the beatific grandeur of the spring.

Gradually *vasanta* was conceived as an embodiment or the representation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1650 A.D.) quoted a piece from *Tumbura-nātaka*, relating to the time of the singing of the *rāga vasanta* as,

श्रीपञ्चमीं समारभ्य यावत्स्याच्छयणं हरेः ।
तावद् वसन्तरागस्य गानमुक्तं मनीषिभिः ॥

That is, the *rāga-vasanta* is sung from the *Śrī-pañchamī*, in the

1. (a) Alternative reading 'बद्धचूड़ा'
   (b) A slight alternative description :

शिखण्डिवर्होच्चयपीड़ा
कर्णावतंशो स्फुरदाम्रपत्रा ।
इन्दीवरश्यामतनर्मनोक्षा
वसन्तिका स्यादलिमञ्जु लश्रीः ॥

month of *Māgha* (November-December) to the time, when Śrī Hari (Lord Kṛṣṇa) goes to take rest. Paṇḍit Śubhaṅkara of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* (16th century A.D.) and Ghanaśyāma-Narahari of the *Saṅgītasārasaṁgraha* (early 18th century A.D.) referred to these lines, in favour of the specified time of the *rāga vasanta*. Somanāth (1900 A.D.) described *vasanta* as,

केशगकिंशुक एष प्रवेशिताम्राङ्कुरः पिकस्य मुखे ।
अरुणवसनौ वसन्तो गौर-सुवेषा रसालगतः ।।

That is, the *rāga vasanta* has decorated his hairs with the *palāśa* flowers. The cuckoo, the messenger of the spring, is singing. *Vasanta* is also apparelled in an orange-red cloth, and the Nature around is glittering with golden bright hue. Prof. O. C. Gangoly said that some of the *rāga* have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals of gods and goddesses. As for example, the *rāga* like *megha*, *vasanta*, *hindola*, *śrī*, etc. are connected with the spring or *holi* festival. The *rāga hindola* previously used to be sung in connection with the spring fesitval, *Saturnalia*. Afterwards it was recognized as the *rāga* of the *holi* festival. The characteristics of *vasanta* and *hindola* can also be applied to the *rāga madhumādhavī*. The word '*madhu*' indicates the spring season, and, consequently, *madhumādhavī* is known as the *rāga* of the spring. But it seems that it was originally the *rāga* of the rainy season, sung in the month of *Vaiśākha* (*kāla-vaiṣākhī*). In ancient pictures of the *rāga madhumādhavī*, the scenes of the dust storm of the month of *Vaiśākha*, lighrtning and dances of the peacocks are depicted. In the manuscript of Nārada-Dattila's *Rāgasāgara* preserved in the Madras Manuscript Library, we find the name of the *rāga* '*madhumāvatī*', which may be the real name of *madhumādhavī*. As the *rāga* was connected with the the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it was known as *madhumādhavī*. Another *rāga prathama-mañjarī* has also been in connection with the spring season. The name of *prathama-mañjarī* was afterwards changed into *patamañjarī* (*paṭṭḥ-mañjarī*). The *rāga chyūta-māñjarī* is also connected with the spring or rainy season. The name '*chyūta-mañjarī*' signifiies the new leaves or blossoms of the mango-tree, ('*chyuta*' means 'mango'

and '*mañjarī*' signifies new leaves or blossom). It evolved from the *rāga hindola.* Another *rāga āmra-pañchamī* is connected with the summer season. So it is found that some of the beautiful *rāgas* have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals.

The *rāga-vasanta* evolved out of the conceptions of some emotional sentiments and environments. The tonal arrangement of *vasanta* creates an atmosphere of the vernal season, so the intuitive artists and musicologists connect this *rāga* with the vernal season, spring.

The spring is an intermediary season between the winter and the summer, so it brings a balancc between those two extreme seasons. The mystic poets symbolize the winter with death and the spring with life. They say that the spring comes after the winter, which means that death is overcome by life, as if the dream is replaced by the waking state, or the shadow of darkness is removed by the shining light. After the winter season, the spring appears with a newness of life, and it animates and elevates the body and mind of all living beings. The whole Nature looks barren and shattered during the cold winter season. With the advent of spring, new golden leaves come out of the branches of the trees. The barren earth is again bedecked with green grasses and flowers. The gloomy atmosphere and dull appearance of the universe is rejuvenated with new life. The people are then inspired with new hope and vigour.

In the West, the spring is considered as the symbol of revivification or rejuvenation. In this season, the Anglo-Saxon races perform a festival in commemoration of the goddess Estore or Istārā, Freyjā, and others. The worship of Estore, or Istār, or Istārā is observed in the spring in the month of March or April (Bengali *Fālguna* or *Chaitra*). For this reason, Easter is known as the spring festival (*vasantotsava*). The *Vāsantīpūjā* and the autumnal *Durgāpūjā* of India, and Christmas and Easter Festivals of the Christian countries have the same significance. The Christmas and Easter festivals are

considered by the Christian as Church-festivals, and are observed in the memory of Christ's resurrection. All the Christians observe the day of Christ's death on the 25th December. They consider the 27th December as the day of Christ's resurrection. Dr. Frazer is of the opinion that all the Messengers like Jesus the Christ, and gods and goddesses like Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Horas and the Asiatic goddesses, Durgā, Vāsantī Annapūrṇā and Jagaddhātrī are no other than the solar deities. They represent also the corn-goddesses or vegetable-spirits. The Hindu belief differs from that of Dr. Frazer. The latter deals with this matter elaborately in the *Golden Bough*. Struss, Robertson, Conybear, Drews and other Western savants are of the opinion that the Church festivals, which are observed in commemoration of death, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, originated from the conception of death and rejuvination of the Nature. They reject even the historical personage of Jesus the Christ, and call it a sun-myth. Indian scholars have not altogether reject this view, as they opine that the *Vāsantīpūjā*, *Durgāpūjā*, *Dola-yātrā* or *Holi* festivals represent the Nature-worship, and they have originated from the worship of Mitra or Mithra i.e. sun-worship, and, consequently, from the sun-myth. The sun is known as Mitra or the universal friend of the universe. The *Itupūjā* is also the sun-worship, as the word '*Itu*' has been derived from *Mitu*>*Mitā*>*Mitra*, which is no other than the sun, the eternal friend. Vaiṣṇavas observe *holi* festival, which is known as the *āviṛotsava.* The *āvira* is red in colour, and it represents the vermillion hue of the dawn or rising sun. The *āvirotsava* or *holi* festival is observed in the sacred memory of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the spring season. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is no other than the sun. So the *holi* festival is a solar festival, which is observed in the memory of the sun in the spring season. Regarding the worship of Mitra or Mithra, J. M. Robertson said that it is no other than the worship of the sun. From Herodotus' (1.131) writing in the fifth century B.C., we learn that in some way the god Mithra was identified with a goddess. Mithra

later figures for us in the strange symbolic figure of the lion-headed serpentine god, but, above all, in that of the slayer of the bull. It has been variously decided that the bull, slain by Mithra, is the symbol of the earth, the symbol of the moon, the bull of the Zodiac, and the cosmogonic bull of the Magian system. It is perfectly intelligible and probable that Mithra, slaying the bull, should have meant the rays of the sun, penetrating the earth, and so creating life for mundane creatures, as the dog feeds on the blood of the slain bull. There can be no reasonable doubt that these successive religious representations of the slaying of the lion and the slaying of the bull rest on a Zodiacal system of sacred symbolism, which the slaying of a given animal means either the passing of the sun into a particular sign of the Zodiac at a particular season of the year, or the slaying of the animal represents a special sacrifice. Again, if it be right to decide that the slaying of the bull originally pointed to the sun's entering the sign of the bull at the vernal equinox, then this symbol dates back, probably, more than 3,000 years before the Christian era ; while the symbol of the slaying of the lion would signify the sun's entrance into Leo at Midsummer in the same period. In fact, the image of the slaying of the bull came to be associated specially with the idea of sacrifice and purification—purification by the blood of bulls and rams. The resurrection and eternal life were secured by drenching or sprinkling with the actual blood of a sacrificial bull or ram.

Further he said that the rising sun would be daily hailed with joy, as among the Jewish Essenes, and sun-worshippers everywhere. The Christmas is a solar festival of unknown antiquity. Easter is also a solar festival. We learn from Tertullian that Osiris, in the mysteries, was burried and came to life again. The Mithraic Christians actually continued to celebrate Christmas day as the birthday of the sun, despite the censures of the Pope. Christmas was an Osirian and Adonisian festival also. The celebrations in memories of Apollo, Hercules, Demeter, and Pessidon use to bear the same

significance. Dr. Frazer discussed it in *Garden of Adonis*, and Svāmī Abhedānanda, in his *Christ and Christmas*.

The *rāga vasanta* invokes the spirit of the vernal season of the solar origin, and so it is recognized as the best *rāga* from the æsthetic viewpoint and from that of philosophy. Let us illustrate some of the songs that create an atmosphere of the spring and newness of life. These are :

(क) सुभग वसन्त नवल-लता, पल्लव लागि
द्रुम सुमन सुखदायी ।
शीतल पवन सुगन्ध रुचिर चारु लागे
मधवन झरलायि ।।

(ख) उड़त बुन्दन नव अवीर घहु
कुमकुम खेलत, बसन्त वन-लाल
गिरिवर-धारण ।

(ग) चलो सखी कुञ्जधामे, खेलत वसन्त
श्याम संग लिये, राधे नाम रूप गुण जागेरि ।

(घ) वसन्त आगत भयो आज सखिरी ।
वरण वरण कमलदल-कुसुम-बिकाशि ।
अति अनूपम मनोहर कोयेला बोले ।।

The symbolic language and idea of the songs inspire the mind of all, and bring unto them a materialised vision of the blossoming of the trees and creepers, cool breeze, scented and coloured wreaths of flowers and sweet songs of the cuckoo, together with the vermillion hue of the *āvira* in the *holi* festival of the spring. Besides *dhruvapadas*, there are *dhāmāra* type of songs, which create a rhythmic and rousing atmosphere of the dynamic Nature. They are :

(क) होरि खेलन आये नन्ददुलार (दीपक);

(ख) खेलत होरि भर काञ्चन पिचकारी
श्यामरो—री (परज);

(ग) खेलन ऐसी होरि आइ ब्रिजनारी
मद माती निरखि श्यामलपटारे (छायानट) ।

The songs in the *rāgas, dīpaka, paraja, chāyānata*, etc. describe the divine sportive play of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and create a celestial atmosphere.

The psychological effect of the *rāga vasanta* and its variants are amazing and divine. The development of *vasanta* begins mostly from the high tonic (*tāra-ṣaḍja*) of the middle octave, and the manifestations of the displaced *ṛṣabha*, both the *madhyama* and sharp *gāndhāra* create a rhythmic movement *in* the minds of both the artists and listeners. During the time of the ascent, the *rāga vasanta* rises from the tonic to the fourth note (*madhyama*), producing a curve but blending tune, naturally known as *gamaka*, which creates a balanced and peaceful emotional sentiment and mood. The entire manifestation of the tonal form of the *rāga vasanta* creates a mental picture of the spring.

In Bengal, the *rāga vasanta* is profusely used in *padāvalī-kīrtana* on the occasions of *holi, jhulana, rāsalīlā* of Lord Kṛṣṇa. It is also a favourite *rāga* in most of the folk songs of different parts of India. In *padāvalī-kīrtana*, different types of *vasanta* are used, and they are : *gaurī-vasanta, vasanta-vāhāra, māyūra-vasanta, śrī-bhupālī-vasanta, mālasi* or *malaśrī-vasanta, kāmoda-vasanta, behāga-vasanta, suhāi-vasanta, vasanta-dhāni* or *vasanta-dhāneśrī, vasanta-jayajayantī, gurjarī-vasanta, sohinī-vasanta, kalyāṇa-vasanta*, etc. The mystic Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal consider the spring as an important season. In most of their devotional compositions, they have described the spring as a symbol of new life and new inspiration, and their aim and object are to transcend the transient beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world and to dive deep into the ocean of eternal peace and tranquility. There is a beautiful poem of the mystic poet Vidyāpati that invokes the spirit and atmosphere of the spring, together with the spirit of the *rāga vasanta* :

नव वृन्दावन नव नव तरुगण
नव नव विकशित फुल।
नओल बसन्त नओल मलयानिल
मातल नव अलिकुल।

The ever-new Vṛndāvana, the trees and creepers with new full-blown flowers, the vernal season, the new cooling *malaya*-breeze (the breeze that flows from the south), and the new-inspired bees created the living environment of the spring. The noted indologist, Kānnoomal gave æsthetic references of the *rāga vasanta*, together with *dīpaka*, *madhumādhavī* etc., from a Sanskrit manuscript, *Saṅgeetmālā*, in the *Rūpaṃ* (July, 1922). He described *vasanta* as a *nāyikā* (a *rāgiṇī*), and said that she is of a lovely dark appearance, as the sweet smell comes out of her lotus-like mouth and a swarm of black bees gather about her face, and make a humming sound. She has beauty and lustre of the person of cupid and youth that captivates young men. Her breasts are hard, and she holds buds of mango plants, in her lotus-like hands. The *rāgiṇī* is sung in *kharaj* (=tonic—*ṣaḍja*) *svara*, in spring, in the second part of the day. The rhetorical interpretation of the *rāga* (or *rāgiṇī*) *vasanta* is that she is a *nāyikā* i.e. a young passionate woman, who is well skilled in all the arts of her lover. Her lover is *dhīrodātta*, and the sentiment is *vipralambha śṛṅgāra*.

The *rāga vasanta* is a symbol of new life. In the winter, everything is in a dying condition, and in the spring, it is revived. The *rāga vasanta* can be compared with the transcendental light that reigns supreme with its undying luminosity and glory. It dances like Naṭarāja on the breast of the *Apasmāra* that represents death of winter season. The winter season symbolizes death, and the spring, life. The *rāga vasanta*, therefore, conquers death and brings immortal life unto mortal man.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHANGE-CUM-DEVELOPMENT IN MUSIC

General Discussion

There are some who believe that everything in this world remains always in a constant or static form, and there is nothing like dynamic in the sense of change. But this belief has no logical and scientific basis, because everything in this world of change is subject to origin and movement. As for example, a tree remains at first in a seed form, then comes out as a sprout, and gradually develops into a big tree. A man remains as a child before he attains maturity. So change is inevitable in this world of space-time.

We are fully aware of the golden proverb : 'Rome was not built in a day', but, in truth, not only Rome, but all the cities and countries, nay, all things in this world of phenomena, have grown and have been built and shaped through a gradual process, and nothing is ever made or created accidentally, or by chance. Something develops means it moves gradually forward through space and time. Indian music has been developed through the same process. It passed through different stages of evolution in different periods, primitive, prehistoric, vedic, classical, mediæval, and modern. It will move onward again, and will be rectified and modified in the near and distant future. Music of the primitive period supplied materials for the music of the Vedic period. The Vedic music again helped the onward progress of the music, the classical period which in its turn, was replaced by the *deśī* type of music, with some new nomenclatures and forms. So music undergoes changes through all the ages with additions, alterations, modifications, reconstructions, adjustments, and readjustments, rectifications, and so on. Therefore, possibility of new orientation in form and manifestation of

music should neither be discouraged, nor be overlooked or rejected, but we should draw inspiration from the glorious heritage of the past and the ideal of Indian music. Modern science and research work have helped our musicology to have a new and progressive orientation.

Musicology is known as science of music, as it helps to understand or realize music in its true perspective and colour. It formulates laws and rules that lead music to its right path, and thus protects and preserves purity and glory as it were. The musicologists and musicians are fully aware that the *svaras* (the word '*sva*' means 'by itself' and '*ra*' connotes the idea of *rañjana* which means 'pleasing') are the vital elements in the domain of Indian music, and that they design the melodic forms. Musicology has also devised the microtones long before the advent of the Christian era and framed the notes that are deeply saturated with emotions or subtle sentiments. The melody-types are formed out of the permutations and combinations of the notes. The notes are, therefore, the norm or matrix of the melodies and they create impressions and rouse the emotive feelings in the hearts of the sentient beings. The note that generates the greater number of emotion and emotive feeling, is called the sonant or *vādī*. The function of the sonant is to help the manifestation of the melodies. The *vādī* (*vadanāt vādī*, i.e. which speaks of, or determines, or makes manifest the melody) or sonant is the prime thing, and it plays a prominent part in the field of Indian music. It helps the living beings to be conscious of their innate delightful nature. It makes them conscious of their inherent divine energy that lies dormant in the subconscious mind. *Samvādī* means the consonant or melodic affinity between the notes, first and fourth, or first and fifth, and it occurs at the distances of the ninth and thirteenth microtonal units. *Samvādī* is known as the consonant, because it brings affinity between two allied notes. *Anuvādī* is known as the assonant, and it acts next to *vādī* (*anu*+*vādī*, i.e. that comes after *vādī*, the sonant), while the other one is known as the *vivādī* or dissonant, for having a

contrary tendency, bent upon destroying the state of equlibrium or the balance of the melody, and is, therefore, unhelpful in perfecting the emotive feelings. These will be discussed afterwards in detail.

The *śrutis* play an important role in the field of music. In the West, *śruti* is known as semitone or microtone. It is the subtle and audiable sound that forms the background of the tones. There are two aspects of the *śruti*, mechanical and emotional or æsthetic. (a) The mechanical aspect of *śruti* is constituted of twenty-two parts or units which form a *saptaka* (octave in the West) of Indian music. The Greek musicologists divided an octave i.e. *saptaka* by the cycles of fifths and fourths, each giving eleven microtones of unequal intervals. The mechanical aspect is so called because it is a mechanical process by which a musician can devise the ratios between the tones and the units of vibrations of the tones. (b) The emotional or æsthetic aspect of *śruti* is concerned with the artists who analyse the structure of various *rāgas* which form the vital part or life-force of Indian music.

It should be noted that the Indian microtones (*śrutis*) are determined by the important relationship of major and minor thirds. This relationship is commonly known as *gāndhāra-bhāva* (either *śuddha*, *vikṛta* or *komala* or chromatic *gāndhāra*). The *gāndhāra-bhāva* can be given to the pentatonic or *auḍava rāgas*.

The twenty-two *śrutis* and ten essentials (*daśa-lakṣaṇas*) are indispensible for the fuller manifestation of the *rāgas*, which are possessed of some significance and value. Besides *śrutis*, there are *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, *mūrcchanās*, and other musical ingredients. It has been said before that the *varṇas* are the musical efforts, which are known as *gāna-kriyā*. They determine ascent and descent of notes of the *rāgas* that create the sentiments and emotive feelings (*rasa* and *bhāva*). The *rāgas* are so called because they create enjoyability (*rakti-bhāva*) which originates from the sentiments lying hidden in the tones and microtones. The *alaṁkāras* are the combined froms of ascent and descent of the seven notes, and as such they are

the varieties of the *varṇas* or musical efforts. The *mūrcchanās* evolve with the help of the notes in a cyclic order, and they create different shades (*chāyās*) of the *rāgas*, having different emotions. *Vistāra* or elaboration of the notes creates *ālāpa* that makes the *prabandhas* or musical compositions and *sthāyas* or musical phrases of the songs (*gītis*) perfect and significant with the parts like *ākṣiptikā*, from which a *rāga* is thrown out or manifested in all directions, *rāgavardhanī* that makes the expansion of the *rāga*, etc. (vide *Chaturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*, VIII. 1-11). The *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* is mainly concerned with *ākṣiptikā* in connection with *ālāpa*, and *ākṣiptikā* is divided into four parts. The method of *ālāpa* makes a *rāga* fully manifest, with its æsthetic beauty and emotional appeal. Besides, there are other essential materials which are required to be observed for making the *rāgas* manifest fully, with their *rakti* and *rasa bhāvas*.

Now, what are a *prabandha* and a *sthāya* ? A *prabandha* is a systematic musical composition, bound up with different *dhātus* (music-parts), six *aṅgas* (limbs), and five *jātis*, etc. A *sthāya* or *thāya* is a musical phrase that creates the shade (*chāyā*) of the *rāga*. Pārśvadeva and Śāraṅgadeva fully described the form as well as the nature of the *sthāya* in the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* and the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Pārśvadeva observed (vide *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, II. 34-3) :

गत्या गमकयोगेन रागेणान्येन केन वा ।
स्वरैर्वृत्तिः स्वरवृत्तिष्ठाय इत्यभिधीयते ।।

The cluster of notes is the basis of a musical effort or *varṇa* which is known as *gāna-kriyā*, and the cluster of notes is no other than a musical phrase or *sthāya*. Pārśvadeva further observed it, and said,

तत्र स्थाय्यादिवर्णानामाश्रयः स्वरमण्डलः ।
स्थानमित्युच्यते तस्मिन्नदाहरणमच्यते ।।

यथा वेलावल्यां ध नि स रि ग म प, छायानट्यायां स रि ग म प ध नि इत्यादि ।

In fact, a *sthāya* is a shadowy form (*chāyā*) or tonal struc-

ture of a *rāga*. Śāraṅgadeva said : '*rāgasyāvayavaḥ sthāyi*'[1] (III. 97). The total number of the musical phrases (*sthāyas*) are 96, as described by both Pārśvadeva and Śāraṅgadeva. These 96 phrases are meant for *gītis* or vocal music. There are also phrases (*sthāyas*) for the musical instruments, and they are known as *rāgamagnā* : '*rāgamagnā vādyaśabdā yeṣu te vādyasabdajāḥ*'[2] (SR. III. 119). Siṁhabhupāla mentioned : '*rāgamagnā rāgānurañjitā ye vīṇādiṣveva vāhulyena prayogā dṛśyante, te yantrasamvandhinaḥ*'[3]. Now, ascent and descent of notes of the musical phrases, together with musical efforts (*varṇas*), the sonant (*vādī* or *aṁśa*), and the consonant (*samvādī*), etc. create æsthetic sense and emotional appeal in the hearts of the living beings.

Now a question arises as to whether we observe these things for manifesting the *rāgas* in our present-day music. We say that we do so to some extent, without knowing their proper use and value. We know that there are microtones in between the tones of the *rāgas* and that they radiate æsthetic sentiments for creating enjoyability in our music, but we do not care to be conscious of them, nor do we know how and when we will have to create adequate emotions and feelings by the tones. We know about *varṇas* and *alaṁkāras*, but we, so to say, forget their use, intrinsic value, and colour. We know the importance of the sonant, the consonant, and the assonant, but we do not know their use and even their functions, when practising or demonstrating the *rāgas*. We read or hear about the musical compositions like *prabandhas* and different musical phrases like *sthāyas* having emotional units, but we take very little care and interest for reviving their real forms, beauty, and value. These are not healthy signs for the reorientation of music. So every one of us, who love music

1. रागस्यावयव: स्थायी ।
2. रागमग्ना वाद्यशब्दा येषु ते वाद्यशब्दजाः ।
3. रागमग्ना रागानरञ्जिता ये वीणादिष्वेव वाहुल्येन प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते, ते यन्त्रसम्वन्धिनः ।

and culture music, should strive his or her utmost to avert the impending calamity over our divine music. The secret of practice of Indian music is maintained in traditional way of understanding between the teacher and the disciple (*guru-śiṣya-paramparaya*) throughout the ages, so if this divine art is guided by the inspiration of the musical *śāstras* and intuitive teachers, its form and ideal will again be revived like that prevailing in the glorious past.

The constructive work in the field of musicology should always be welcomed to strengthen the bed-rock of Indian music. Physics, physiology, psychology, history, iconography, and philosophy of music should carefully be studied in true perspective, and their useful principles should be applied to music where and when necessary for the betterment of its form, volume, and value. The musical theory in the West has already been developed in a dynamic way, because science has been put into use in the field of its study. The fruit of such a scientific development is apparent in the lives of the Western geniuses like Helmhotz, Miller, Einstein, Jeans, Sullivan, Lord Raybeigh, Alexander, Wood, Seashore, Revesz, Percy Buck, Wilmer Bartholomew, and other scientists and physicists. They have enriched, enlightened, and enlivened the researchical and experimental fields of the Western music. In India, the celebrated old masters like Muni Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣtika, Kaśyapa, Mataṅga, Pārśvadeva, Śāraṅgadeva, Vidyāraṇya, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Govinda Dīkṣita, Veṅkatamakhī, and others, and modern savants like Pt. Ārchekar, Paṇḍit Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe, Sir. S. M. Tagore, Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī, Rādhā Mohan Sen, Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee, and others have enriched the lore of Indian music by their incessant researches and experiments.

Still it remains for us to do something by adopting and assimilating new and novel means and methods to improve our glorious tradition of music. A new era of scientific outlook has dawned upon the horizon of the world of investigation and research, and social envoirnment and atmosphere have

undergone revolutionary changes, and as such we will have to investigate into the things of the past in the light of the modern scientific research work. The old Sanskrit treatises should be surveyed from modern scientific outlook, and a constructive view should always be maintained with creative approach. Superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism should always be shunned for the shake of truth, and we must have liberal and broad vision in every walk of our life.

It is gratifying to learn that the Deccan College of Poona is doing its experimental research on music under the able guidance of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Dev, and others. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore is also making new researches on music. Interesting experiments are also going on in the Universities of Jubbalpore and Ānnāmālāi, where the chemists and the botanists are studying the effect of music on the properties of matter and on plants. The same experiments have already been started in the laboratories of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iowa Universities in the West. A. H. Swinton, Prof. A. M. Mayer, Frank E. Lutz, and others have also made researches on the musical sounds of the insects, and some of their research works have already been published in the *Bulletin* of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, U.S.A. All these works and researches reveal hopeful sign for the future prospect of world music.

Change is Inherent

Change is the inherent nature of the world. Change and development are inevitable in everything of the phenomena. The spirit as well as the pattern of the *gītis*, *gānas*, and *rāgas* are also subject to change, being part and parcel of the stuff of the human society and so we find their new and novel forms and types from time to time.

The classical *gītis* or types of song were known by their respective *rāgas* in the 5th-7th century, and they were known

as the *rāgagītis*. The *gānas* were somewhat different in their forms and renderings, so the *śuddha*, *gauḍī*, *bhinnā*, etc. *rāgagītis* were found different from the *gānas* like *māgadhi*, *ardha-māgadhī*, etc. and also from the *druvās*. It should be remembered that among the *gānas*, the *māgadhī*, etc. were formalised *deśī* ones, whereas the *druvās* were the classical dramatic ones. Mataṅga (in 5th-7th century A.D.) fully defined and described the forms of the *rāgagītis* in the *Bṛhaddeśī*. In the *Nātyaśāstra*, we find that Bharata (2nd century A.D.) only mentioned about four formalised *deśī* songs (*nātyagītis*) like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *pṛthulā* and *sambhāvitā*, which can be said to be the *gītis*. These *gītis* were used along with the sixty-four *gānas* or *druvās*. But both the *gītis* and the *gānas* had their grounds in the *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*. The *gāndhāra-grāma* was out of practice at that time (even in the beginning of the Christian century). The ancient *grāmas* used to play the role of the scales, which were changed afterwards into different *melas*, or *thātas*, or *melakartās*. But it should be noticed that both the *grāmas* and the *melas* used to serve the same purpose of determining the *rāgas*.

The newly evolved regional tunes i.e. melodies (*deśī-rāgas*) were divided into *rāgas* and *upa-rāgas*, i.e. into main and subordinate melody-types. The post-Bharata musicologists further divided them into *rāgāṅga*, *bhāṣāṅga*, *kriyāṅga*, and *upāṅga*. From them many other *deśī-rāgas* evolved with new names and forms, and they came to be known as the mixed or *saṁkirṇa-rāgas*. The mediæval musicologists like Umāpati and others classified the *rāgas* into pure, subordinate, and mixed (*śuddha*, *chāyālaga* or *sālaga* and *saṁkīrṇa*). The origin of the *rāgas* were mystified by the ancient musicologists, headed by Umāpati, with some spiritual garbs, and, in the *Aumāpatam* (by Umāpati), we find that the *śuddha-rāgas* were described as Śiva, the *chāyālaga* or *sālaga-rāgas* as Śakti, and the *saṁkīrṇa* ones as Śiva and Śakti principles combined.

We have seen that the *rāgas* manifest themselves with the help of *varṇas*, *mūrchhanās*, *alaṁkāras*, *sthāyas*, *gamakas*, etc.

Their tonal forms (*sthāyas*) are not fixed or constant, as they change from time to time to suit the taste and temperament of the changing society, but their basic forms, together with ideal, for which they stand, remain the same for all the time. It has been discussed that the seven pure *jātirāgas* were in practice during the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), and afterwards they underwent gradual changes or transformations, and, consequently, eleven more *jātirāgas* together with the ancient seven ones, i.e. we find 7+11=18 *jātirāgas* evolved in the beginning of the Christian era. Muni Bharata dealt with these 18 *jātis* in the *Nātyaśāstra*. The same process of evolution happened in the case of the *grāmarāgas* and other *aṅga-rāgas*. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*, we find the mention of six basic *grāmarāgas* ("*ṣaḍ-grāmarāga*"), whereas in the *Nāradīśikṣā* (1st century A.D.), we find already seven *grāmarāgas*, and this fact has been supported by the Kuḍumiyā-mālāi Rock Inscription of the 7th century A.D.

It has already been said that the *rāgas* are determined by some specific characteristics like sonant, assonant, consonant, dissonant etc., and Bharata fully discussed about them. There are also other factors involved for the healthy manifestation of the *rāgas* and they are known as *varṇa*, *jāti* (heptatonic, etc.), *mūrcchanā*, *meru*, *khaṇḍameru*, and *rasa* (æsthetic sentiment). Some of the main *rāgas* are considered as the basic ones, which are again determined by the principles of formation, manifestation, rendering, and some intrinsic nature of the *rāgas*. They were known as *melas* or *thātas* or *melakartās*. The term '*mela*' signifies the idea of 'bringing in a synthetic form' among the variant forms of the *rāgas*. The word '*thāta*' is of the Persian origin, and it means 'the structure' or 'form', and the word '*melakartās*' is the synonym of the *mela*. The name *melakartā* is specially used in the South Indian or Carnatic system of music. The *mela* or *thāta* has been conceived as 'a ground' or 'a base' where a *rāga* takes its stand and makes itself manifest. Some are of the opinion that the word '*mela*' is a product of the 16th-17th century A.D., and was coined after the

genus-specis (*janya-janaka*) principle. Some of the modern scholars ignore the utility of *mela* or *thāta*, as the *rāgas* are determined by their own specific groupings. But a *mela* as a base is necessary for the proper manifestation of a *rāga*. The system of *mela* or *thāta* was subordinate to *mūrcchanā* in ancient time, and it possessed seven notes like a *mela*. There are others who disagree with this view. But, in spite of the controversy over the origin of the *mela* or *thāta*, most of the musicologists say that the *rāgas* of different ages evolved from the *mūrcchanās*. It might be the fact that the *grāmas* were afterwards replaced by the *mūrcchanās*.

Now, leaving aside different controversies about the ancient system of music if we look into the system of the *rāgas* of the present system, we find that all the *rāgas* having different natures, are determined by ten *melas* or *thātas*. But for many reasons we prefer thirtysix *melas* for easy controlling and conducting all kinds of *rāga*. This new method of ten *melas* was adopted by Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkaṇḍe. Before him, we find different number of *melas* which were included in the genus-species (*janya-janaka*) principle. In the middle of the 17th century A.D., twelve *saṁsthānas* (*melas*) were current in the Indian society, and those *saṁsthānas* are elaborately described in the *Rāgataraṅginī* by Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi. The present system of Carnatic music has adopted 72 basic scales or *melakartās*, which were devised by Paṇḍit Govinda Dīkṣit and Veṅkatamakhī in the 16th century A.D.

Now, let us discuss about some of the changing phases of the *rāgas* of the 14th-15th century A.D., though many changes already took place in the forms of *rāgas* in ancient times. There were many musicologists and authors who composed and compiled authentic books on music. Among them, the name of Śāraṅgadeva, who flourished in the early 13th century A.D., is worth-mentioning. He composed the encyclopædic work, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* or the 'Ocean of Music'. Siṁhabhupāla (1330 A.D.), and Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.) were known as the principal commentators of that work. Rāṇā Kumbhā or

Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār also wrote a beautiful commentary on it. He wrote the commentary *Saṅgītarāja* and also on commentary on the *Gītagovinda*, known as *Rasikapriyā*. Siṁhabhupāla and Kallināth sometimes differed from each other, and sometimes Kallināth also differed from Śāraṅgadeva in respect of forms of the *rāgas* and of many other things. To cite an example, Śāraṅgadeva described the *rāga*, *bāṅgālī*, which evolved out of the *grāmarāga*, *bhinna-ṣaḍja*, having its sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*) and final note (*nyāsa*) as *dhaivata*. It is pentatonic (*auḍava*), the third and the fifth notes being left out (*varjita*), whereas the commentator, Kallināth, described the *bāṅgālī*, evolved from the *rāga mālavakauśika* as heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*) in form and having the sonant, and the initial note (*graha*) as the *madhyama* and the final note (*nyāsa*) as *ṣaḍja*. It should be remembered that Śāraṅgadeva described the *rāga*, *bāṅgāl* (and not *bāṅgālī*) evolved out of different basic scales, one from the *ṣaḍja-grāma*, and other from the *madhyama-grāma*. There we find differences of opinion as regards fixation as well as determination of the intrinsic nature of the *rāgas*. In this way, it can be shown that the *rāgas* like *gurjarī*, *māṅgalī* (or *maṅgala*), *kāmbojī* (*khāmāich* or *khāmāj*) etc. have been defined and determined in different ways by different musicologists of different times. Divergences of opinion, in relation to different manifestations of the *rāgas*, connote the idea of change. We further find that the total forms of the *rāgas*, prevalent during the time of Mataṅga (5th-7th century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 9th-11th century A.D.), Nānyadeva (1097-1157 A.D.), Someśvaradeva (1131 A.D.), Śāraṅgadeva (early 13th century A.D.), Siṁhabhupāla, Kallināth, Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala (1498-1667 A.D.), Somanāth (1609 A.D.), Dāmodara (1625 A.D.), Ahobala (17th century A.D.), Lochana-kavi (middle of the 17th century A.D.) and others, were further changed in the early 19th century A.D. The ancient standard scale, current between the 12th to 17th century A.D., was similar to *mukhārī* or *kāphī-mela* to some extent, changed into the *vilābala-mela*, which is current in the present Hindusthānī system of music.

So, if we examine the structures of the *rāgas* that have been depicted in the works like *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, *Saṅgīta-Dāmodara*, *Saṅgīta-Darpaṇa*, *Svaramelakalānidhi*, *Saṅgīta-Pārijāta*, *Rāgavibodha*, *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, etc., we find that most of them were changed, though their contemplative composition (*dhyānas* or *dhyāna-mantras*), together with the spirit and ideal, remained the same. As for example, the *rāga bhairava* is depicted in Paṇḍit Dāmodara's *Saṅgīta-Darpaṇa* as pentatonic (*auḍava*), having the notes '*dha, ni, sa, ga, ma*', or '*sa, ga, ma, dha, ni*' as the tonal form, whereas it has been described as heptatonic (*sampūrṇa*), constructed out of the seven notes : '*sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni*', having the second and the sixth notes as flat or chromatic (*komala*). We also notice a change in their sonant and final notes. Regarding the *rāga*, *mālavakauśika* or *mālavakaiśiki*, Paṇḍit Dāmodara is of the opinion that it is heptatonic, having its sonant as well as initial and final notes as *ṣaḍja*, whereas it has been described as pentatonic (*auḍava*), devoid of the notes, *ṛṣabha* and *pañchama* in the present system of Hindusthānī music. Again Paṇḍit Dāmodara described the *rāga*, *guṇakrī* (*guṇakirī* or *guṇakelī*) as pentatonic, devoid of the second and the sixth notes, but it is described as either pentatonic or heptatonic in the present system of Hindusthānī music. The pentatonic form of *guṇakirī* has its basic ground on the parent *melarāga*, *bhairava*, and its heptatonic form rests on the *melarāga*, *vilābala*. In this way, it can be shown that most of the *rāgas* of ancient time have been metamorphosed into new forms in the present Hindusthānī system. The same process happened in the Carnatic system. But still we find that there exists a link between the two systems, ancient and modern.

Again we find that though Mataṅga followed the system of music, as contained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to some extent, yet he differed in many respects, and, therefore, introduced some new patterns of *rāga* in the *Bṛhaddeśī*. Nārada (of the *Saṅgīta-Makaranda*) and Śāraṅgadeva followed many of the rules and methods as advocated by Bharata and Mataṅga, but yet they differed in many respects in determination of natures

and structures of the *rāgas*. Pauṇḍarika, Ahobala, Lochana, Veṅkatamakhī, Śrinivāsa and others followed the system of music, as advocated by Śāraṅgadeva, but still they differed from him in many respects, and formulated some new and novel things in their treatises. Thus we find that both the authors and the composers introduced some sort of novel forms in music in almost in every age, but many changes came into being in modes, forms, scales, and constituent elements of the *rāgas*.

Some are of the opinion that in the time of Bharata (in the 2nd century A.D.), the *jātis* or *jātirāgas* used to be recognised by their respective *grāmas* and *mūrcchanās*, and afterwards from the time of Mataṅga (5th-7th century A.D.), the *rāgas* (*grāma-rāgas* and other *deśi-rāgas*) formed out of the *mūrcchanās*. A *mūrcchanā* is known by its gradual ascent and descent (*ārohaṇa* and *avarohaṇa*) of the seven notes, and it may be called the womb (*yoni*), or fountainhead of the system of scale. A *mela* or *thāta* or *melakartā* is also of the same nature. Even at the time of Paṇḍit Dāmodara (17th century A.D.), as is believed by some musicologists, the *rāgas* used to be determined by and also evolved out of the *mūrcchanās*. Paṇḍit Dāmodara said that the *rāga-bhairava* evolved from the *dhaivata-mūrcchanā* : *dha, ni, sa, ri, ga, ma, pa—pa, ma, ga, ri, sa, ni, dha*, and therefore, called it a pentatonic (*auḍava*) *rāga*, having the tonal form, *dha, ni, sa, ga, ma—ma, ga, sa, ni, dha*, corresponding to *sa, ga, ma, pa, dha—dha, pa, ma, ga, sa*. Many of the *rāgas* of the South Indian or Carnatic system took new forms after the advent of Paṇḍit Govinda Dīkṣit and Veṅkatamakhī (early 17th century A.D.). Pt. Veṅkatamakhī worked upon fifteen *janaka* or *mela rāgas*, already devised by the philosopher-musicologist Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya of the 14th-15th century A.D., and they were afterwards developed into 72 *melakartās*. Some new creation also happened with additions and alterations of the notes in the field of music. Sometimes it is believed that the *rāgas* of the South Indian system are preserving their ancient tradition even to this day, without taking

any change or alteration. But that is not wholly correct. Because men of all countries are more or less possessed of different creative faculties and new visions, so it is not possible for them to maintain the old patterns or forms all the time. After the advent of Tyāgarāja, Kheṣtrajña, Muthusvāmī Dikṣitar, Śyāmā Śāstrī, Svāti Tirunal and others, there happened many changes in the domain of South Indian music. Even in the modern time, additions and alterations are made in the forms as well as in the system of the *rāgas*.

So, not only music of India, but also music of all nations of all countries of the world undergo changes in their forms and systems, and that music as a fine art, is not a frame of steel which will remain changeless and static all the time, rather it is bound to involve the processes of many adjustments and re-adjustments from time to time to suit the taste and temperament of the changing society. The human taste is always free to reject and rectify the old ones and to infuse new blood and vigour in them. So the followers of one system or school (*gharāṇā*) should neither condemn nor defy the other ones for introducing some new techniques and textures in *rāgas*, because developments and changes-like additions and alterations are bound to happen in the field of art and culture of music.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WORD, STYLE, LITERATURE AND PRABANDHA

Origin and Nature of Prabandha

The word '*prabandha*' means well-fitted composition to be sung—'*prakṛṣtarūpeṇa baddhatvāt prabandhaḥ*', and it is a composition of a particular type. We have already discussed that in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (2nd century A.D.), we find sixtyfour *dhruvā-prabandhas*, known as the dramatic songs (*nāṭya-gītis*). Bharata defined and mentioned them to be used in the dramatic plays. While explaining the significance of different *prabandhas*, Śārańgadeva (early 13th century) defined and divided the songs as *gāndharbha* and *deśī* : 'गान्धर्वं मुक्तं प्रागाधूना गानमुच्यते' । The *druvā-prabandhas* were included in the category of *gāndharva*, and Bharata said that they were applied with the help of *kaiśkī-vṛtti* which were generally used by the female players. Kallināth said in his commentary : 'गानविशेषः प्रबन्धः', and *prabandha* is the *mārga*-class of song. The *druva-prabandha*, which has been described by Śārańgadeva in the *Sańgīta-Ratnākara*, was different from the stage-song, *dhruvā*. In the 12th century, we find the use of *prabandha* in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* : 'करोति जयदेवकविः प्रबन्धम्' । That *prabandha* was the *padagāna*, composed in Avahatta-Bengali-Sanskrit language.

The *prabandhas* are of two kinds, *nibaddha* (bound) and *anibaddha* (not bound). The *nibaddha-prabandha* is bound with different *dhātus* (music-parts) and other things—"धातुभि प्रबन्धावयवै-रुद्ग्राहाभिरङ्गैः स्वरविरूदादिभियद्बद्धं रचितं तन्निबद्धमित्याभिधीयतेः।" The *anibaddha-prabandha* is known as *ālapti*—'आलप्तिस्तु तालाद्यु पनिबन्धहीन-त्वादनिबद्धमित्युच्यते।' Again *baddha* or *nibaddha* one is known by three categories, *prabandha*, *vastu*, and *rūpaka*—'बद्धस्य तिश्रः संज्ञा भवन्ति।' Siṁhabhupāla made these categories explicit with illustrations.

Śāraṅgadeva said that the pattern of *prabandha* is composed of four music-parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. The *prabandhas* are also prossessed of two or three music-parts. The word *dhruva* is used as music-part (*dhātu*) and also as *prabandha* which is included in the *sālaga-sūḍa* category. The word *dhruva* connotes also the idea of permanent (*nītyatvāt*) and indispensable (*aparityajya*). The music-part *dhruva* combines or brings together two other musiç-parts, *melāpaka* and *ābhoga*. When the word *dhruva* is used as the third music-part (*dhātu*), it is used as an indispensable one (*aparityakta*), and when it signifies the majestic type of *prabandha-gāna* of the *sālaga-sūḍa* class, it connotes the idea of permanent and sacred song.

A *prabandha* is also possessed of six limbs (*aṅgas*), *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tenaka*, *pāta* and *tāla*. The word *tenaka* or *tena* is used in the sense of blessedness and auspiciousness, and this limb has been described as an eye. The limbs, *pāta* and *viruda* have been compared with the hands. The *pāta* is the letters (*bolas*) of the drumming, and *viruda* is the qualified one (*guṇa*). The *svara* means notes or tones like *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, etc. The word *pada* means music or *gāna*. The entire *Gīta-govinda* is known as the *pada-gāna*.

The *prabandha* is further possessed of five *jātis*, and they are : *medinī*, *nandinī*, *dīpanī*, *bhavānī*, and *tārāvalī*. The above mentioned six limbs (*aṅgas*) are known as *medinī-jāti*. The *jāti* with five limbs is known as *nandinī*, the *jāti* with four limbs is known as *dipanī*; the *jāti* with three limbs, is known as *bhavānī*, and the *tārāvalī-jāti* is known by its two limbs. The five *jātis* are also known as *śruti*, *nīti*, *sena*, *kavitā* and *champū*.[1] The last ones are generally used in poetry, and Sṁhabhupāla elaborately defined and explained them in his commentary.

Generally *prabandha* is divided into two, *aniryukta* and *niryukta*. The *aniryukta* one is said to be the song when it is not bound by

1. * * * केषाञ्चन मते श्रुतिः ।
नीतिः सेना च कविता चम्पूरित्युदितास्तु ताः ॥
—रत्नाकरः ४।२०-२१

chhanda, *tāla*, *aṅga*, *dhātu*, *rasa* and *bhāṣā* etc., and when *gāna* is bound by these parts, it is known as *niryukta*.[2] *Aniryukta* one may be known as *ālāpa*, and *niryukta*, as a song.

The *prabandha* is further divided into three classes, *sūḍa*, *āli*, and *viprakīrṇa*.[3] (1) The *sūḍa-prabandhas* are *elā*, *karaṇa*, *dheṅkī*, *varṭanī*, *jhombaḍā*, *lambha*, *rāsaka*, and *ekatālī*.[4] (2) The *āli-prabandhas* are twentyfour in number, and they are *varṇa*, *varṇasvara*, *gadya*, *kaivāḍa*, etc.[5] (3) The *viprakīrṇa-prabandhas* are thirtysix in number, and they are *śrīraṅga*, *śrībilās*, *pañcha-bhaṅgī* * * * *maṅgalāchāra*, *maṅgala dhavala*, etc. Śāraṅgadeva elaborately described them in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. The methods of their rendering are also described. As for example, the *elā-prabandhas* are sung with three music-parts (*dhātus*), *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, and *dhruva*. In these three parts, songs are repeated twice or thrice. The presiding deities of the *padas* are also mentioned, and they are *padmālayā*, *patriṇī*, *rañjanī*, etc. From these it is understood that though the comtem-plative compositions (*dhyāna-mantrams*) and pictures of the *rāgas* were definitely made in the 16th-17th century, yet the conceptions of the presiding deities (*adhiṣṭhātrī-devatās*) of the songs were already current in the 12th-13th century in the Indian society. The *gānas* and the *gītis* were infused with vital energy (*prāṇa*), and they were surcharged with æsthetic sentiments (*rasa*) and moods (*bhāva*).

The *elā-prabandhas* are characterised by *nāda*, *dhvani*, *akṣara*, *alaṁkāra*, etc. Śāraṅgadeva described them ('एलानां बहवः सन्ति') in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* in the *ślokas* IV. 41-132. Then he described the *karaṇa-prabandhas* in the *ślokas* IV. 133-146, and

2. अनिर्युक्तश्च निर्युक्तः प्रबन्धो द्विविधो मतः ।
छन्दस्तालाद्यनियमादाद्यः स्यान्नियममात्परः ॥

—रत्नाकरः ४।११

3. पुनः प्रबन्धास्त्रिविधाः सूड़ाद्या आलिमंश्रयाः ।
बिप्रकीर्णाश्च * * * ॥

—रत्नाकरः ४।२२

4. रत्नाकरः ४।२३ ।
5. रत्नाकरः ४।२४ ।

the *dheṅkī-prabandhas* in the *ślokas* IV. 147. He did further define and describe sixteen kinds of *dhruva-prabandha* in detail in the *ślokas* IV. 316-379. Śāraṅgadeva said that all the types of *prabandha* should be produced with ten qualities, so as to make them sweet, colourful and appealing, and these ten qualities are *vyakta, pūrṇa, prasanna, sukumāra, alaṁkṛta, sama, surakta, ślakna, vikṛṣta, madhura.*[6] Then specific qualities are also found in the *Nāradīśikṣā* of the 1st century A.D. In this connection, Śāraṅgadeva also mentioned ten kinds of defects (*doṣāḥ*).

It should be mentioned in this connection that the *dhruva-pada* or *dhrupad* type of majestic and charming song evolved from the *prabandha-gāna* and it evolved from the *sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha.* Paṇḍit Viṣṇunarāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe quoted some definite characteristic (*lakṣaṇas*) of the *dhruvapada*, as described by Paṇḍit Bhāvabhatta in his *Anupa-Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, known as a new type of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, dedicated to the name of Rājā Anup Singh of Bikāner. Bhāvabhatta was employed in the court of Anup Singh, the ruler of Bikāner, from 1674 to 1709 A.D. The characteristics of the *dhruvapadas* are : "गोर्वानमध्यदेशोय भाषासाहित्यराजितम् * * ध्रुवपदं स्मृतम् ।"

The first historical reference of the modified or rectified *dhruvapada-prabandha* we get in the 15th century A.D., when Mahārājā Mān Singh Tomar ruled in Gwalior, but before it the *śāstric* type of the *dhruva-prabandha*, the fore-runner of the modified ones, was current from the beginning of the Christian era i.e. from 2nd century to 14th century A.D. In the 15th century A.D. Mahārājā Mān Singh called a conference and modified the old types of the *dhruva-prabandha* with the help of the then renowned and accomplished Ustāds like Machhu, Bhānu, and others. The present form of *dhruva-prabandha* or *dhrupad* was innovated during the reign of Mān Singh Tomar in the 15th century.

6. व्यक्तं सुरक्तं श्लक्ष्नं च बिकृष्टं मधुरं तथा ।
दशैते सुगुंणा नोते त्रै * * * ॥
—रत्नाकरः ४।३७३-३७५

Influence of Language upon Thought

Language is important, because it builds the structure of the sentence, and sentence build the structure of the text-part or *sāhitya* of *prabandha*, which is no other than the embodiment of thoughts. Professors C. K. Odgen and I. A. Richards beautifully discussed about influence of language or speech upon thought so as to explain that there is symbolic suggestions or ideas in both word and language which connect the thing we deserve and create some emotional attitude in the mind. Dr. Boas was of the opinion that 'all speech is intended to serve for the communication of ideas'. The ideas are remotely accessible to outside inquiries, and we need a theory which connects words with things through the ideas, if any, which they symbolize. We require analysis of the relations of words to ideas and of ideas to things. Prof. Richards said that "words mean nothing by themselves, although the belief that they did, was once equally universal. It is only when a thinker makes use of them that they stand for anything, or, in one sense, have a meaning." Besides, between a thought and a symbol causal relations hold, as when we speak or write, the symbolism we employ, is caused partly by social and psychological factors—the purpose for which we are making the reference, the proposed effect of our symbols on other persons, and our own attitude.

In fact, the words stand for symbols or signs for certain ideas. Dr. K. C. Pandey said that 'in order that the words may serve their symbolic purpose, it is necessary that the ideas should be familiar to those, to whom the words in question are intended to serve as symbols'. The words have their meaning, and so importances of both word and meaning must be accepted. Besides, beauty of both is due to qualities (*guṇas*) and embellishments (*alaṁkāra*) of words and meanings.

There comes *dhvani* theory in connection with words and meanings. Ānandavardhana called *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. but Abhinavagupta considered *dhvani* as the source of inspiration. The Lakṣaṇāvādīns rejected *dhvani*, as they maintained

that *dhvani* is identical with *lakṣaṇā*. But the Dhvanivādīns criticised the Lakṣaṇāvādīns, because they maintain that *dhvani* is a power of language and *lakṣaṇā* is indispensible, because they are essentially different from each other. *Dhvani* is again divided into four, *vastu-dhvani*, *alaṁkāra-dhvani*, *bhāva-dhvani*, and *rasa-dhvani*. (1) The *vastu-dhvani* is known as the suggestive power ; (2) The *alaṁkāra-dhvani* is that suggestive power of word, the suggestive idea aroused by which, is a poetic embellishment ; (3) The *rasa-dhvani* is that suggestive power which floods the mind with a host of ideas etc., and (4) The *bhāva-dhvani* is the subjective constituents of the æsthetic configuration, and the mental states are divided into two classes, the basic mental states and the transient emotions.[7]

We know that word is a suggestive symbol of something. Now, what do we mean by a symbol ? A symbol is a sign which points out a thing behind. Professors Odgen and Richards said that symbolism "is the study of the part played in human affairs by language and symbols of all kinds, and especially of their influence on thought. It singles out for special inquiry the ways in which symbols help us and hinder us in inflecting on things". In fact, there is an influence of language or word upon thought, as the function of language as an instrument for the *promotion of purposes* rather than as a means of *symbolizing references* is very important.[8]

The words or properties of words work as instruments for the control of the objects from very primitive times. Language plays the role of a vehicle which transfers ideas to the speaker or writer, but the method of transference of ideas of language differed in different times among different nations. As for example, said Prof. Whittaker, language, in the Neo-Platonic view, "can only be made to express the nature

7. Vide, Dr. K. C. Pandey : *Indian Aesthetics* (Baranasi, 1950), pp. 255-256.

8. Vide also Prof. Richards : *Principles of Library Criticism*, and Hotopf : *Language, Thought and Comprehension* : A case-study of the writings of I. A. Richards.

of the soul by constraining it to purposes for which most men never even think of employing it" ; moreover, "the soul cannot be described at all except by phrases which would be nonsensical if applied to body or its qualities, or to determinations of particular bodies." Prof. Richards suggested that the atmosphere of verbalism, in which most Indian philosophy developed, seems to have been more dense than that of the scholastics, or of the Greek dialecticians. "In this respect, the Mīmāṁsā-Nyāya controversy, the Yoga philosophy, the Vijñānavāda categories, the Prabhākara Mīmāṁsakas are hardly less remarkable than the doctrine of the Sacred Word 'AUM' and verbal ecstasies of the sufi mystics, a part of whose technique was reviewed by Dr. Cone."[9]

A literature (*sāhitya*) is created out of the combination of words and sentences. But what are a word and a sentence ? Prof. Richards said that a *word* is an articulate sound-symbol in its aspect of denoting something which is spoken about, and a *sentence* is an articulate sound-symbol in its aspects of embodying some volitional attitude of the speaker to the listener. Therefore, said Richard, the sentence-form literature is a compromise between symbolization and emotive factor. Language in its truest sense, is also a sign of symbol that conveys idea or ideas to the reader or readers so as to arouse emotion or emotive feeling for the appreciation of the content and purpose of literature (*sāhitya*). *Sāhitya* is, therefore, meaningful with its cherished ideas, surcharged with emotion and feeling.

Method of conveying of Meaning

Everything is changeable being subject to evolution. Language conveys ideas which are meaningful, or which can

9. Vide, *The Meaning of Meanings* (London, 1959), p. 39.

In this connection we would like to suggest the readers to consult the books : (1) Max Muller's *Lectures on Science of Language* (1864) ; (2) William Dwight Whitney's *Oriental and Linguistic Studies* (New York, 1874) ; (3) *The Importance of Language*, edited by Max Black (Cornell University Press, 1962).

be said to be the discloser of truth. Language is like the mystic syllable, OUM or Oṁkāra, which is the sign or symbol (*vāchaka*) of the Truth, the indeterminate Brahman—*tasya vāchakaḥ praṇavaḥ*. But, from the viewpoint of Advaita Vedānta, though language is considered as the medium that points out or discloses the Truth, yet it cannot be said to be a perfect pointer or discloser, as it is unable to reach the Truth, being a category under the limits of time and space, and so Vedānta tells—*avāṁ-manaso'gocharaṃ*. Language has some limit, and through that limitation it speaks about the Truth or Substance which transcends the categories of time, space and causation. But yet language can be taken as a pointer or discloser of some idea or meaning. Prof. Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski represented by analogous diagrams some earlier stages of meaning. He said that there are mainly three stages of evolution of sentences, composed of words or languages which convey meanings: (1) At the first stage, when the utterance is a mere sound-reaction, expressive, significant and correlated with the situation, but not involving any act of thought, the triangle reduced to its base, which stands for a real connection—that between *sound-reaction* and *situation*, i.e. sound-reaction is connected directly with situation. (2) In the second stage, *active sound* (semi-articulated or articulated) is correlated with *referent*. (3) In the third stage, we have to distinguish between the three fundamental uses of language, *active*, *narrative*, and *ritual*. "Meaning did not come to primitive men for contemplation of things, or analysis of occurrences, but in practical and active acquaintance with relevant situations. The real knowledge of a word comes through the practice of appropriately using it within a certain situation."

Now, every human tongue has a definite structure of its own. We have types of isolating, agglutinative, polysynthetic, incorporating and inflectional languages. In every one of them, the means of linguistic action and expression can be brought under certain rules, classified according to certain categories. This body of structural rules with their exceptions

and irregularities, the various classes into which the elements of the language can be ranged, is what we call 'the grammatical structure' of a language. In fact, language is regarded as 'the expression of thought' which is conveyed by means of speeches or speech-sounds.[10] Prof. Werner Heisenberg said: "Language is, as it were, a net spread out between people, a net in which our thoughts and knowledge are inextricably enmeshed."[11]

Now, what does signify the word 'Meaning'? Meaning, said Prof. Richards, is an intrinsic property, a unique unanalysable relation to other things, connotation of a word, an essence, a volition, emotion aroused by anything, etc. 'Meaning' is, therefore, a symbol some of whose elucidations must rest upon psychology, and the example of Beauty was chosen because that symbol, too, lies through less deeply in the same predictment. Professors Odgen and Richards forwarded a representative list of sixteen definitions, conveyed by the word 'Meaning', and these sixteen definitions were used by different philosophers and philologists[12]. Prof. Samuel Butler also discussed about 'Thought and Language'.

The Style of Composition of Prabandha

Yet one other aspect of the historical study of literature (and composition) of music may be indicated—the historical study of style. Generally by style in music we mean the specific 'method of rendering' of music according to some definite school or *gharāṇā*, but here, in composition, the method of composition (*sāhitya* or *pāṭhya*) of *gāna* (*prabandha-gāna*) which is composed by the arrangement of pleasing and soothing

10. Vide, the Supplement I to *The Meaning of Meanings* by Professors Odgen and Richards. The above statements are quoted from the portion of the Supplement I, wrote by Prof. Malinowski (pp. 296-336).

11. Vide *Physics and Beyond* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1971), p. 138.

12. Prof. Aldous Huxley elaborately dealt with the problem of 'Words and their Meanings'—Vide *The Importance of Language*, edited by Max Black (1962).

words, and so the *sāhitya* of the *gāna* or *gīti* (music) appears as graceful with literary and poetic value and beauty.

Now, what do we mean by a style (*rīti*) ? In the Vedas, we find the word *rīti*. In Sanskrit, style is known as *rīti* or *paddhati* of composition. Paṇḍit Viśvanāth Kavirāj defined *rīti* (style) as an arrangement of words, as a harmony of the Western music is an arrangement of pleasing musical sounds. This arrangement of words is helpful to manifest flavour (*rasa*) in literary, poetical and musical compositions, as the conformation of the body to the soul : 'पदसंघटना रीतिरङ्गसंस्थाविशेषवत् । उपकर्त्री रसादीनाम्' (9.1).[13] It should be remembered that flavour or emotional sentiment (*rasa*) is the soul of both music and poetry.[14] *Rīti* or style is essential for the composition of *sāhitya* of the *prabandha* type of music like *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl*, etc. This *rīti* or style is known as both a means to structure or form and a specified school or *gharāṇā* of music. Paṇḍit Viśvanāth Kavirāj defined four types of *rīti* (style), and they are *Vaidarbhī* (originated from Vidharbha), Gauḍī (originated from Gauḍa-Vaṅga), *Pāñchālī* (originated from Pāñchāl), and *Lātikā* (originated from Lātadeśa).[15] (I) The *Vaidarbhī* style (of *pāṭhya* or *sāhitya*) manifests sweetness. (2) The *Gauḍī* is a grand style, composed of letters manifesting energy and abounding in compounds. (3) The *Pāñchālikā* contains compound of five or six words, and is sweet and melodious. Bhojarāja said in the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* that the *Pāñchālikā-rīti* is soft and sweet, and is characterised by force (*ojas*) and elegance (*kānti*). (4) The style, *Lātikā*, is an intermediate one between *vaidarbhī* and *pāñchālī*. Bharata also mentioned and defined these styles in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, while dealing with the composition (*pāṭhya*) of the dramatic play. Like Bharata and Viśvanāth Kavirāj, Vāmana, Daṇḍīn and others also discussed about style or *rīti*.

13. Vide, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, edited by Gurunāth Vidyānidhi, (Calcutta), p. 392.

14. The theory of *rasa* has been dealt in this book separately. Vide, Ch. IX.

15. Vide, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Calcutta), IX. 2.

The styles (*rītis*) are again 'studied by certain rhetoricians as an ornament of composition *vis-a-vis* the *guṇas* or poetic excellency. But by a majority of canonists, said Prof. Śāstrī, one is attempted to be studied usually by reference to the other, so that with them the study of *rīti* and *guṇa* goes hand in hand.'[16]

He further said that the styles (*rītis*) may simply be defined as the mode of arranging words in a manner which tends to develop the sentiments and feelings (*rasas* and *bhāvas*) in a piece of composition. The style (*rīti*) thus aims at the adjustment of the sound to the sense and thereby creates a rhythm in both dramatic and musical compositions by means of symphonic success.[17]

The Ālaṁkārikas say that *rīti* or style is the soul of the poetic composition—'*rītirātmā kāvyasya*'. *Rīti* or style is a special type of literary or poetic composition—'*viśiṣtā padara-chanā rītiḥ*', so *rīti* or style helps to manifest the arrangement of the words a *kāvya* which is full of sentiments.

A style is also known as one of the forms. While discussing about the style-cum-form of poetry, Prof. A. C. Bradley said : "There is no such thing as mere form of poetry. All form is expression. Style may have indeed a certain æsthetic worth in partial abstraction from the particular matter it conveys, as in a well-built sentence you may take pleasure in the build almost apart from the meaning."[18] He admitted that styles are the means of arousing the æsthetic sentiment.

Prof. Hollingworth discussed style in four beautiful chapters in his *A Primer of Literary Criticism*. He said that style is the body to which thought is the soul, and through which it expresses itself. The elements of style (*rīti*) are known as 'choice of ideas', and 'expression of idea'. In fact, idea or thought is the matrix or norm of constructing the style, and

16. Cf. Prof. S. N. Śāstrī : *The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama* (Varanasi, 1961), p. 33.

17. Ibid, pp. 338-339.

18. Vide, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London, 1962), p. 18.

it inspires to construct the building of the style. The most primitive style in the world is the simple-sentence style. But style is changeable and at different times the style takes different forms. As for example, Shelley's style is as abstract and etherial as Byron's is concrete and worldly. Tennyson had many styles, though the new scientific detailed style was favourite to him. Wordsworth's style was different from that of Milton. In Indian musical compositions, we find that the style of Svāmī Haridās differed from that of Tānsen, and style of Tānsen differed from that of Baiju-Bāorā, style of Nawal Kishore differerd from that of Ānandakishore, and so on. But, in the field of appreciation, those varieties are taken as a whole and are appreciated by their own grace and beauty.

What do we mean by an appreciation? Appreciation is not a mere mechanical process, but appreciation of any work of art 'is an estimation of its qualities and defects; but it is also a measure of the qualities and defects of the critic.' Prof. Hollingworth said, 'for the melody of a passage, for the colour and splendour of the words, for sublimity of thought, for the soul of the work, in short, you must train your own ear and eye, and mind and soul, till in some degree they approach his.'

We have already said that style may be a kind of literary or poetic form. But, what do we mean by a form of music? The form of music may be considered in two different aspects, the *texture* of music from moment to moment, and the *shape* of the musical design as a whole.[19] But *texture* is generally considered as different from *form*, though historically the *texture* of music became definitely organised long before the shape could be determined by any but external or mechanical conceptions. It is a fact that *texture* and *form* are used sometimes in one and the same sense, as *form* is generally bound up with *texture*. The form of the *prabandha*

19. Vide, *The Problem of Style* (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), pp. 13-14.

of Indian music is composed of different parts or components, and we have already discussed it before. Now the *prabandhas* have some forms of their own, which are interwoven with different forms of materials of music, and those forms are surcharged with different æsthetic sentiments and feelings.

Regarding style, its central problem and psychology, Prof. J. Middleton Murry discussed elaborately. He said that 'a true style' is a completely adequate expression in language of a writer's mode of feeling. "From this angle", said he, "idiosyncrasy appears to be essential to style, and, therefore, at first sight wholly good. But, as a matter of fact, the goodness of the idiosyncrasy of style will depend upon whether it is the expression of genuine individual feeling or not. It is for the reader, who is the critic in embryo, to decide upon this". Really style 'consists in adding to a given thought all the circumstances calculated to produce the whole effect that the thought ought to produce'. Mr. Flaubert said that deeper style lies beneath the words themselves, 'the soul, which gives the words their being'.

What is the source of style ? Prof. Murry said that the source of style is to be found in a strong and decisive original emotion we can get a closer grasp of the intention that lies under the use of the word as meaning a writer's personal idiosyncrasy. It is true that there lies a difference between realistic style and romantic style or imaginative writing. "The great realistic writer is of the same nature and pursues the same activity as the great romantic writer. The difference is that the realist chooses his plot from the life of everyday, and the romantic from an imagined continuation of life into the past (which is history) or into a purely ideal world.[20]

What is the central problem of style ? Prof. Murry said that "I will say that style is a quality of language which communicates precisely emotions or thoughts, or a system of emotions or thoughts, peculiar to the author. Where thought

20. Vide, *The Problem of Style* (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), pp. 28-29.

predominates, there the expression will be in prose; where emotion predominate, the expression will be indifferently in prose or poetry, except that in the case of overwhelming immediate personal emotion the tendency is to find expression in poetry. Style is perfect when communication of the thought or emotion is exactly accomplied, its position in the scale of absolute greatness, however, will depend upon the comprehensiveness of the system of emotions and thoughts to which the reference is perceptible."[21] Really a great writer, or a composer, must have a vast of perceptions of quality upon which to draw at will. Besides, all the great style is derived not from sensuous perceptions but from emotional contemplation. But sensuous perceptions, said Prof. Murry, are necessary for the complete expression of this contemplative experience. The great writer or composer has to carry the articulation of the material world into the world of the spirit, he has to define the indefinable. While discussing the central problem of style, Prof. Murry said : "Every art has its peculiar qualities, an artist in language must do everything in his power to realize the unique possibilities of the medium. Music is a superb and self-sufficient art ; its unique possibilities are utterly beyond the range of spoken language. The writer, who allows himself to be distracted by the musical possibilities of language, is like the dog who dropped the bone for the watery shadow."[22] So, Prof. Murry was of the opinion that though problem of style, word, or language, should be discussed for good and great creative compsition and art, yet definition-cum-realization of the indefinable Truth that transcends the ranges of sensuous perceptions and emotional contemplation, should be considered as the primary one.[23]

21. Vide, *The Problem of Style* (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), p. 65.

22. Ibid, p. 79.

23. Vide, in this connection, the pages 137-138 of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* by Prof. I. A. Richards (published by Oxford University Press, New York, 1965).

Literature and Prabandha

Language infuses life and energy to literature. Generally we consider literature of the *gānas* or *gītis* as word or *kathā* and melody as tune or *sura*, and the combination of the two elements gives birth to music. In Vedic time, the *ṛc*-stanzas were known as the text-parts (*kathā*) and the Vedic tones, *prathama*, etc. were known as tune (*sura*). As a bird is possessed of two wings and without them he cannot soar in the sky, so music is not complete with the two wings of word (*kathā*) and tune (*sura*).

Literature is a common thing which can be attached or added to all subjects, music, poetry, drama, art, architecture, painting, etc. "Thus the various forms of literary expression", said Prof. Hudson, "fall into their places as natural results of common human impulses working themselves out under the conditions of arts; and when we remember the great principle that a piece of literature appeals to us only when it calls into activity in us the same powers of sympathy and imagination as went to its making, the interest which such forms have for us is also explained."

It is true that in the first place, of course, the elements of literature are furnished life itself, which constitute the raw material of any piece of literature—poem, drama, music, dance, novel, etc. Prof. Hudson said that these may be roughly tabulated under four heads: (1) "First, there is an intellectual element—the thought which the writer brings to bear upon his subject, and which he expresses in his work. (2) Secondly, there is the emotional element—the feeling (of whatever kind) which his subject arouses in him, and which in turn he desires to stimulate in us. (3) Thirdly, there is the element of imagination (including its lighter form which we call fancy), which is really the faculty of strong and intense vision, and by the exercise of which he quickens a similar power of vision in ourselves. These elements combine to furnish the substance as well as the life of literature. The given matter has to be moulded and fashioned in accordance with the principles of order,

sympathy, beauty, effectiveness; and thus we have a *fourth* element in literature—the technical element, or the element of composition and style."[24]

Language and Symbol

Regarding life-symbols Mrs. Susanne K. Langer said that *language* is born from the profoundly symbolic character of the human mind. Images have all the characteristics of symbols, and they are, therefore, our readiest instruments for abstracting concepts from the tumbling stream of actual impressions. Besides, the emotional reaction is evoked by the idea embodied in the object, and the objects that could function as stream-symbols, have a mysterious significance for the waking mind too, and are viewed with emotion, even though they have never served a practical purpose for good or for evil.[25]

Mrs. Langer further said that there is a strong tendency today to treat art as a *significant* phenomenon rather than as a pleasurable experience, a gratification of the senses. "This is probably due to the free use of dissonance and so called 'ugliness' by our leading artists in all fields—in literature, music, and the plastic arts." Music, on the other hand, is pre-eminently non-representative even in its classical production, its highest attainments. "It exhibits pure form not as an embellishment, but as its very essence; we can take it in its flowers—for instance, German music from Bach to Beethoven—and have practically nothing but tonal structures before us; no scene, no object, no fact...... This is not to say that music is the highest, the most expressive, or the most universal art. Sound is the *easiest* medium to use in a purely artistic way, but to work in the safest medium is not at all the same thing as to achieve the highest aim."[26]

24. Vide, *An Introduction to the Study of Literature* (London, 1930), pp. 15-16.
25. Vide, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1951), pp. 131-132.
26. Ibid, p. 178.

Mrs. Langer was of the opinion that the 'work of art' is an expressive form created for our perception through sense or imagination. She said that "if music has any significance, it is semantic, not symptomatic. Its 'meaning' is evidently not that of a stimulus to evoke emotions, nor that of a signal to announce them, if it has an emotional content, it 'has' it in the same sense that language 'has' its conceptual content—*symbolically*. .... Music is not the cause or the cure of feelings, but their *logical expressions*, though even in this capacity it has its special ways of functioning, that make it incommensurable with language, and even with presentational symbols like images, gestures, and rites."[27]

Feeling and Form

But Dr. Louis Arnand Reid honestly criticised some theories-cum-views of Mrs. Langer in his recent book, *Meaning in the Arts* (1969) especially in the Chapter III, which deals with 'Susanne Langer, and Beyond'. In the Chapter XI : 'Meaning, Feeling, Value, Symbolism and the Arts' (pp. 191-208), Dr. Reid successfully dealt with the problems of 'Sources of Meaning in the Arts', 'Art, Feeling and Value', and 'Symbols : Conceptual Thinking and Art', differing from some views and arguments forwarded by Mrs. Langer in her books, *Philosophy in a New Key* and *Feeling and Form*. Dr. Reid said that Mrs. Langer developed her own views of art as *expression*. "The work of art", she believed, "is an expressive form created for our perception through sense or imagination, and what it expresses in human feeling. The word 'feeling' must be taken here in its broadest sense, meaning *everything that can be felt*, from physical sensation, pain and comfort, excitement and repose, to the most complex emotions, intellectual tensions, or the steady feeling tones of a conscious human life". Again, works of art are 'images of the forms of feeling... The art symbol sets forth in symbolic projection how vital and

27. Vide, *Philosophy in a New Key*, p. 185.
Vide also *Feeling and Form* (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London).

emotional and intellectual tensions appear, i.e. how they feel'.[28]

Dr. Reid said that it is no doubt true that a work of art is an expressive *form*, but the word 'form' needs consideration. It has many meanings[29], all legitimate in different circumstances. There are set forms, like the sonnet form in poetry or the sonata in music; there is form which means simply shape, or something like it. But more important is the abstract sense of form, meaning 'structure, articulation, a whole resulting from the relation of mutually dependent factors, or more precisely, the way that whole is put together'. It is this sense, sometimes called 'logical form', which is involved in Mrs. Langer's idea of the expression that characterise art."[30]

Art is not merely an expression of private personal feeling, but it is an expression of the *life* of feeling. Dr. Reid said that "expression is an *expression* in the logical sense, presenting the fabric of sensibility, emotion, and the strains of more concerted cerebration for our impersonal cognition—this is, in abstracto." And so, as Mrs. Langer said, that work of art is a symbol, is not wholly correct, and so "in no other essential way a work of art is a symbol".[31] And not only that, but also, said Dr. Reid, "the whole idea of art as the symbolic projection of the 'life' or 'form' of feeling, a 'conception presented to our understanding' of 'what life feels like'—is shot through and through with difficulties."[32]

The meaning of the word 'feeling' can be indicated rather than defined, and feeling, according to Mrs. Langer, is 'what

28. Vide, Dr. L. A. Reid : *Meaning in the Arts* (London, 1969), p. 57.

29. The word 'form' conveys different meanings or ideas. In philosophy, in Kant's interpretation, 'form' is simply the way in which sensations can be ordered and related and, in that sense, space and time are *forms*. In music, it is known as texture or shape.

30. *Vide, Meaning in the Arts*, pp. 57-58.

31. Ibid, p. 58.

32. Ibid.

is felt'. But feeling, said Dr. Reid, "is, in its primary sense, a subjective mood, referring to immediate experience of our own essentially private state. But although it is true, by itself it gives an entirely artificial picture of the cognitive function and range of feeling."[33]

It is sometimes believed that the artist makes an image of feeling, and, therefore, art is the form of feeling. But that is not wholly correct, because, said Dr. Reid, if all feelings or complexes of feeling are concrete and particular, then how can their 'forms' be other than concrete and particular too. So strictly speaking, the forms of the feelings of life-situations *cannot* be expressed or projected into art-situations. Therefore 'expression' and 'projection' seem to be the wrong words and the wrong ideas for formulating the *essential* nature of art.[34] Projection, of course, does not happen, and it should be remembered, said Dr. Reid, that 'art is not duplication in a projection, but a new created image embodied in a medium, derived perhaps from life experience but not photographing it." The words and sentences have meaning, but 'have meaning', said Dr. Reid, "is quite different in two cases. The

33. While discussing on 'Revelation and the Aesthetic' (Chapter XIV), Dr. Reid interpreted 'feeling' in a different way. There he said: "I would certainly not wish to deny deliverances of feeling as such. I have argued that feeling and some forms of cognition are indivisible. Feeling may have a very rich and full content which is never *adequately* stated in words. Religious people (for example, the mystics......) may become aware through ineffable feeling of something which may be of utmost importance, which carries 'its own assurance'. I do not deny either that there may be possible ways of testing and validating this assurance, which are not the ways of discursive reasoning or ordinary empirical tests. ...The 'feeling' is a hint, perhaps a very important one, but *what* the experience is 'felt' to signify must inevitably depend upon the theoretical structure of one's beliefs, worked out (*inter alia*) in open philosophical debate."—Vide, *Meaning in the Arts*, p. 254.

34. Vide the detailed discussion on the subject in Dr. Reid's *Meaning in the Arts* (London, 1969), p. 61.

meaning, expressible in any language, of words and sentences, is distinct and even separable............from particular words and sentences."

Language and Literature

Prof. Hudson discussed about literature, and said that literature is fundamentally an expression of life, conveyed through the medium of language. Language gives forms and force to literature, and so literature bears in its bosom great impulses which design it and drive it towards same practical purposes. He enumerated four practical purposes of literature, and they are : (1) Our desire for self-expression ; (2) Our interest in people and their doings ; (3) Our interest in the world of reality in which we live, and in the world of imagination which we conjure into existence ; and (4) Our love of form as form. Again, said Prof. Hudson, those practical purposes of literature can be divided into five large groups : (1) The personal experiences of the individual as individual—the things which make up the sum total of his private life, outer and inner ; (2) the experiences of man as man...... ; (3) the relations of the individual into his fellows, or the entire social world, with all its activities and problems ; (4) the external world of nature, and our relations with this ; (5) man's own efforts to create and express under the various forms of literature and art. He further said : "Looking at literature (*sāhitya*) in the light of the above analysis, and considering only the character of subjects, we may distinguish *five classes* of production : the literature of purely personal experience ; of the common life of man as man ; of the social world under all its different aspects ; the literature which treats of nature ; and the literature which treats of literature and art". Prof. Hudson was of the opinion that the history of any nation's literature is the record of the unfolding of the nation's genius and character under one of its most important forms of expression. Besides, literature of the nation prove the mental and moral

characteristics, as well as the changing fortunes, the ebb and flow of the forces which fed their emotional energies and shaped their intellectual and spiritual life.[35]

Language of Sāhitya of Prabandha

The *prabandhas* are more meaningful and significant when they fitted with text-parts or *sāhityas* composed of languages. Bharata mentioned about seven kinds of language, *Māgadhī*, *Avantī*, *Prāchya*, *Śaurasenī*, *Ardha-māgadhī*, *Vahlika*, and *Dākṣiṇātya*, for using them in the composition of the text-parts or *sāhitya* of the drama in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He also said about the uses of basic languages, *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛt*, *Atibhāṣā*, *Āryabhāṣā* and *jātibhāṣā*, as the best mediums for the composition of the text-parts (*sāhityas*). Bharata said in the *Nāṭyāśāstra* :

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि देशभाषाविकल्पनम् ।
भाषा चतुर्विधा ज्ञेया देशरूपप्रयोगतः ।
संस्कृतं प्राकृतश्चैव यत्र पाठ्यं प्रयुज्यते ।
अतिभाषार्यभाषा च जातिभाषा तथैव च ॥

Profs. Grierson, Pischel, Alsdorf, Keith, Jacobi, Block, Woolner, Bhandarkar, Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, and others discussed about origin and development of different languages of India and other foreign languages. There are many differences of opinion regarding them, but yet they traced a chronological history of different dialects. Prof. Max Muller also discussed the problem and philosophy of language and linguistic.[36]

Prof. P. C. Mazumdar said that the language of the Vedas was not exactly similar to Sanskrit language of the classical period. Among the Sanskrit Ālaṁkārikas, Bhāmaha (600 B.C.) was of the opinion that three languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛt, and Apabhraṁśa were used throughout India in ancient time. Daṇḍin (6th century A.D.) said that languages or vernaculars

35. Vide, *An Introduction to the Study of Literature* (London, 1930), p. 41.

36. Vide, *The Science of Thought* (London, 1887).

which were current among the Ābhiras, were Apabhraṁśa. In the bronze inscription of Dhārāsen, we find the mention of the languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛt, and Apabhraṁśa. The Ālaṁkārikas like Rudrat (9th century), Rājaśekhara, Dhanañjaya (10th century), Namisādhu (11th century), Vāgbhat (12th century) and others recognised Apabhraṁśa as the classical one, and it was also recognised as the chaste one by the learned men of the then society.

In the 17th century A.D., Mārkaṇḍeya of Orissā was of the opinion that the different divisions in Prākṛt language, included in the category of *Upabhāṣā* were : (1) Bhāṣā (Mahārāṣtrī, Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Prāchya and Avantī) ; (2) Vibhāṣā (Sākarī, Chāṇḍalī, Sāvarī, Ābhirikā, Takkī) ; (3) Apabhraṁśa (Nāgara, Brāchao, and Upanāgara) ; and (4) Paiśāchī (Kekya, Śauraseni and Pāñchāla). Besides them, different ancient *laukika* or folk languages are mentioned in the dictionaries, included in *dhātvādeśa* and *deśī-śabda*. There were many foreign languages, which were intermixed with the *deśībhāṣā*. According to Prof. Jacobi, the *deśībhāṣā* was known as a mixed language (*miśra-bhāṣā*), the origin of which can be traced to chaste Sanskrit, or *laukika* Sanskrit, though *laukika* Sanskrit was recognised as the non-Sanskrit vernacular by most of the grammarians of Prākṛt language. Prof. Jacobi said that *deśabhāṣā* or *deśībhāṣā* was known as the universal vernacular in the whole of India, as it was practised as the spoken language (*kathya-bhāṣā*) by majority of the people.[37]

Sanskrit and afterwards Prākṛt were included in the category of speaking (*kathya*) language or *jātibhāṣā* and were followed by all castes. Regarding evolution of language, Rev. S. H. Kellogg wrote : "When, long before the Christian era, the Aryan, Sanskrit-speaking people, entered, what is now

37. (a) Vide, Prof. P. C. Mazumder : *Sanskrit and Prākṛt-Bhāṣār Kramavikāśa* (published by the Sārasvat Library, 1971), pp. 348-357.

(b) Vide also ODBL (2nd new edition) by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Vide also Sir R. G. Bhandarkar : *Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages* (Bombay, 1914).

called Hindusthān, they found it inhabited by people of another race and another tongue. This aboriginal race, as the tide of Aryan invasion rolled on eastward, retreated before it, falling away, some into the mountains on the north, more into the jungles and hills of Central and Southern India, where, under various names, preserving still their ancient dialects, and superstitious demon-worship, they are found today. Many, however, doubtless remained in their ancient homes, where the stream of Aryan immigration and Aryan speech soon swept over them, and they became the servants of the invading race. Although the aboriginal speech must thus soon have disappeared for the most part from Northern and Western India, it is scarcely conceivable that it should not, before its disappearance from the scene, have influenced, to some extent, the language of the Aryan invaders. To this external, Turanian influence, we shall probably not err in attributing many peculiarities of those ancient Indian dialects known as Prākṛt, 'common, vulgar', which for centuries co-existed with the Sanskrit, much as, in ancient Italy, the various provincial dialects co-existed with the Latin of the court and of the forum.

These Prākṛt dialects, in the earliest period of which we can speak, appear to have existed under two leading types, the *Śaurasenī* in the west, and the *Māgadhī* in the east, with an intermediate dialect called *Ardha-Māgadhī* (Half-Māgadhī) between them. These two or three, at that early time—in the 4th century B.C.—divided between them all Continental India from east to west. The *Mahārāṣṭrī*, mentioned also by the early Prākṛt grammarians, varied little from the *Śaurasenī*; being specially the language of poetry, as the latter was the language of prose. Besides these forms of the Prākṛt which assumed a literary character, arose forms of speech still more abraded and removed from classic standards, called by the native grammarians *Apabhraṁśa*, 'debased', 'incorrect', lit., 'fallen'. But the *Apabhraṁśa* of one region was not the same thing as the *Aprabhraṁśa* of another; it was *Śaurasenī-*

Apabhraṁśa in the west, and *Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa* in the east, and so on. Out of these, Prākṛt dialects, the literary *Śaurasenī* and *Māgadhī* and the various *Apabhraṁśa* colloquial variations of these, arose the modern Aryan languages of India. Their relation to Sanskrit is thus closely similar to that of the modern Romance languages of Europe to the classic Latin. In number they are commonly reckoned seven, and—proceeding from the west eastward—they are known as Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Oriya and Bengali.[38]

Sāhitya, composed in Sanskrit, was applied for the Nāyaka (Hero) characters like *dhīroddhata*, *dhīralalita*, *dhīrodātta* and *dhiraprāśānta*.[39] Prof. S. N. Śāstrī also mentioned that the characters, *dhīrodātta*, *dhīroddhata*, *dhīraśānta* and *dhīralalita*, were used in Sanskrit in general, otherwise Prākṛt language were used in them. However, Sanskrit language was the common dialect in ancient India. Even, in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (13th century), the text-parts of the *grāmarāgas* and quasi-classical *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *pṛthulā*, and *sambhāvitā* as well as those of the *brahmagītis* and *kapālagītis* were composed in Sanskrit language, and their themes were the *Śivastuti*, i.e. their *sāhityas* were in praise of Śiva.

38. Vide, (a) *A Grammar of the Hindi Language* (London, 1893), pp. 35-36. Besides, Rev. Kellogg discussed about origin and development of different Indian and other languages in his book, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*.

(b) Vide, the detailed historical discussions on origin and development of languages of India, especially the languages, Bengali, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Avahatta, Apabhraṁśa, Bhojpuriyā, Brajabuli, Brajabhākhā of Mathurā and Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places, and other chaste and colloquial dialects of India. Cf. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji ; *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, (Second edition, 1970 (published by Messrs George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London), pp. 1-223.

(c) Vide F. Max Muller : *The Science of Thought* (London, 1887).

39. धीरोद्धते धीरललिते धोरोदात्ते तथैव च ।
धीरप्रशान्ते च तथा पाठ्य' योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ।।
—नाट्यशास्त्र (काशी सं), पृः २१६

Māhāraj Bhojadeva of Dhār (1010-1055 A.D.) was contemporary to Bhīmadeva of Chālukya-Gurjara (1022-1063 A.D.). Bhojadeva also defined and explained *jāti*, *rīti*, *vṛtti*, *bhāṣā*, *sāhitya*, *dhvani*, *vyañjana* etc. in his book, *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇam*. Regarding *jāti*, he said : 'तत्र संस्कृतमित्यादि भारतो जातिरिष्यते'। In the glossary, Rāmasingh said : 'संस्कृतमिति भावप्रधानो निर्देशः'। In ancient times, Prākṛt was used by the side of Sanskrit. Bhojadeva said,

देवाद्यां संस्कृतं प्राहुः प्राकृतं किन्नारादयः ।
पैशाचाद्यं पिशाचाद्या मागधं होनजातयः ।।

So we find that besides Sanskrit and Prākṛt, Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī etc. languages were used in the society. These languages were divided into six *jātis*, *śuddha*, *sādhāraṇī*, *miśrā*, *saṁkīrṇā*, *nānyagāminī*, and *apabhraṣṭā*. Sanskrit was considered as the *śuddhā* (pure) *jāti*. Besides, Prākṛt and other languages were included in the category of *śuddhā-jāti*.

Bhojadeva said that *kāvyas* (composition) were known as *padya*, *gadya*, and *miśra*. The *miśra* ones were known as *padya* and *gadya* mixed together. Those compositions were in slow (*vilambita*), medium (*madhya*) and rapid (*druta*) tempi. Besides, tempi were used as intermixture of slow, medium and rapid.

Regarding *rīti* or style, Bhojadeva said,

वैदर्भादिकृतः पन्थाः काव्ये मार्ग इति स्मृतः ।
रीङ गताविति धातोः सा व्युतपत्त्या रीतिःरुच्यते ।।

Rāmasingh said in the glossary : 'गुणवत्पदरचना रीतिः'। *Rītis* were know as *mārga* or method, and they were *vaidarbhī*, *pāñchālī*, *gauḍī*, *avantikā*, *lātiyā*, and *māgadhī*. We have mentioned before that those six *rītis* or styles were named after different countries and regions. Bhojadeva mentioned about there special, significances.

Now, what is a *vṛtti* ? *Vṛtti* is : "वृत्तिवर्तनं रसाविषयोः व्यापारः काव्यस्य रसप्रवणत्वात" i.e. *vṛtti* helps the emotional sentiments to manifest. There are six kinds of *vṛtti* :

या विकासेऽथ विक्षेपे संकोचे विस्तरे तथा ।
चेतसो वर्तयित्री सात सा वृत्तिः सापिषड्विधा ।।

कैशिक्यारभटी चैव भारती सात्वती परा ।
मध्यमारभटी चैव तथा मध्यमकैशिकी ॥

That is, six *vṛttis* are : *kaiśiki*, *ārabhatī*, *bhāratī*, *sātvatī*, *madymārabhati*, and *madhyamā-kaiśiki*.

Bhojadeva also defined *prakaraṇa*, *prabandha*, *kāku*, *svara*, *pada*, etc. Now what is a *Kāku* ? In the glossary, Rāmasingh said : "भिन्नकण्ठध्वनिर्धीरैः काकुरित्यभिधीयते। सा द्विधा, विधिकाकुः, निषेधकाकुश्च।" In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, different kinds of *kāku* are defined.[40] For the compositions or text-parts (*sāhitya*) of the *prabandha-gītis*, the above-mentioned materials and principles were observed. Bhojadeva described different kinds of emotional sentiment and mood (*rasa* and *bhāva*) in the fifth chapter of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇaṃ*, so as to make *pāṭhya* or *sāhitya* (composition of the *prabandha*) living and more forceful. Besides, he gave the definitions of *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*, who were the presiding deities of different emotional sentiments, in the fifth chapter of this book, SK.

Most of the compositions of the *prabandha-gītis* were composed in the languages current in the then societies. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is of the opinion that "Śaurasenī was the polite language of the day when people employed a vernacular, and in the Apabhraṁśa period, eastern poets employed the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa to the exclusion of their local *patois*. The modern representations of Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa were Bengali, Assamese, Oriyā, Māgadhī, Maithilī and Bhojpuriā. The Bhojpuriā territory was always been under the influence of the West, and Western forms of speech, like Braja-bhākhā, and Awadhi, and literary Hindustānī (Hindi and Urdu) in later times, had been cultivated by poets and others who spoke Bhojpuriā at home". Baiju-bāorā, Svāmī Haridāsa, Tānsen and later musician-cum-composers composed *dohās* and *gānas* in Hindi, Kāiti (colloquial Hindi), Braja-bhākhā, Urdu, and other regional languages. When Svāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Haridāsa

40. Vide, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇaṃ* (published from the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1934), pp. 140-217.

and other Vaiṣṇava savants lived in Vṛndāvana, Braja-bhākhā (and not Brajabuli) was current round about Mathurā, Vṛndāvana and their adjacent places. Brajabuli was the fairest and sweetest language of the Indian lyric poetry or Padāvalī-kīrtana. Baḍu Chaṇḍidās, Vidyāpati Ṭhākur and other Vaiṣṇava Mahājanas. Dr. Sukumar Sen said that Brajabuli language evolved in the Royal Court of Truhut-Moraṅga in Nepāl, and it was nourished by Śaṅkaradeva and his disciple Mādhavadās of Assam, and then it entered into the Greater Bengal, in Gauḍa-Vaṅga and other places of Bengal.[41]

Let us quote some specimens of the text-parts like *dohā*, *pada*, and *gāna*, composed in the early 18th century. Mr. F. S. Growse wrote in the *Mathurā : A District Memoir*, published in 1883 (the 3rd edition, revised), and there he wrote: "The Hindu poem, the *Chaurāśī-Pada*, is much more popular, and most of the Gosāin know at least some of its stanzas by heart. There is a commentary upon it by Lok-nāth, dated *Sambat* 1855, another in verse, called the *Rahasya-artha-nirūpaṇa* by Rasik Lāl, written in *Sambat* 1734." The *padas* were set to tune. The *Śrī-Hitaharivaṁśa-kṛta-vāṇī* said :

॥ राग बिभास ॥
जोइ जोइ प्यारी करे मोइ मोइ भारे
भावे मोहि जोइ सोइ सोइ करै प्यारे ।

In the *rāga-vibhās*, there are six *padas* or songs, and the seventh *pada* or song begins with *rāga-vilābala* :

आजु निकुञ्जगञ्ज मै खेलत नवलकिशोर नवीन किशोरी ।
अति अनुपम अनुराग परस्पर सुनि अभूत भूतल पर जोरी ॥

* * * *

जै श्रीहितहरिवंश करत करथुनन प्रणय कोप मालबालि तोरी ।

It is consisted of six *padas* or songs.

Svāmī Haridāsa was known as Gosāin in the Vṛndāvana-dhām. Nabhajī wrote in the *Bhaktamālā* about Haridāsa :

41. It has been discussed in the chapter of the *Padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal* in this book.

आशाधीर उद्योत कर रसिक छाप हरिदासकी ।
जुगलनामसों नैम जपत नित कुञ्जविहारी ।।

Priyadāsa also wrote a gloss on their *pada* ; 'श्रीस्वामी हरिदास रसराशि को': etc. Growse mentioned the date of birth of Svāmī Haridāsa : "who on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādon in the *Sambat* year 1441 gave birth to Haridāsa.[42] * * He (Haridāsa) flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jāhāṅgīr."[43]

Mr. Growse wrote that each of the Mahants......, "and each composed some devotional poems, which are known as *sakhis*, *chaubolas*, or *padas*. The most voluminous writer is Bihārini Das, whose *padas* occupy 684 pages." Those *padas* were the songs or *prabandha-gītis* set to different classical *rāgas*. And from these evidences it can be concluded without a shade of doubt that the noted Gosāins and Mahantas and Pūjāris of the then Vṛndāvana were well-versed in classical *dhruvapada* songs, which were purely the *prabandhas* or *prabandha-gītis*.

Mr. Growse also quoted some songs from the *Sādhāraṇa-siddhānta*, composed by Svāmī Haridāsa. The first *pada* or song is in *rāga-vibhās* :

जौही जौही तुम राषतहौ त्यौं हो त्यौं हो
रहियतहै हो हरि ।
उर तौ अचरचे पाय अरौ सुतौ कौन
के पेंड़ भरि ॥

* * * *

श्रीहरिदास के स्वामी श्यामकुञ्जविहारी
पिजरा के जनावर लौं तरफराय रही
उड़िबेकौं त्रितोक करि ।।१

* * * *

42. Vide Growse : *Mathurā : A District Memoirs* (1883), p. 219.
43. Ibid., p. 221.
Cf. S. Prajñānānanda : *Historical Study of Indian Music*, (Calcutta).

श्रीहरिदास के स्वामी श्यामकुञ्जविहारी
दिन देषत रहौ विचित्र सुष ।।३

There are the *padas* or songs in the *rāgas, vilābala, kalyāṇa, varārī*, and *kānhori* (*kānāḍā*). In all, twenty *padas* (songs) were given *Sādhāraṇa-siddhānta*.[44] Now, the *padas*, or the *prabandha-gitis*, composed in 17th to early 19th century A.D., were possessed of literary grace and poetic value. They were possessed of religious and spiritual characters and used to evoke the sentiments of calmness, peace, and delight. They were mostly composed in praise of the gods and the goddesses, different divine Incarnations (*Avatāras*), and other Divinities. As for example, we find :

(A) The composition of Tānsen :

लम्बोदर गजानन गिरिजासुत गणेश,
एक रदन प्रसन्न वदन अरूण भेष ।
नर-नारी गुणा गन्धर्व किन्नर यक्ष तुम्बरु मिलि,
ब्रह्मा बिष्णु आरत पूजत महेश । Etc.

(B) The composition of Tānarāja :

शशधर तिलक-भाल गंगा-जटा-व्याल,
कर धर त्रिशूल रुद्राक्ष राजे । Etc.

(C) The composition of Baiju-Bāorā :

चन्द्रभाल शोषगंगा गौरीअरधङ्ग,
ललाट भष्म रुण्डमाला, कर पिणाक रैया । Etc.

(D) The composition of Dhīrāja :

नरहर नारायण नरोत्तम परब्रह्म पुरुषोत्तम ।
परमेश्वर अखिल निरञ्जन अवगत अबिनाशी ।। Etc.

The composition which describe the aspect of rainy season :

प्रबल दल मेघ झुकझुमया भूमपर
उमड घनघोर झाड़ि इन्द्रलायो ।
वरषत मुषलधार होंत पहर चार...... ।

44. Vide *Mathurā : A District Memoir* (1883), pp. 223-227.

It has been composed by Tānsen.

सब बनमें कैसे सोहे ऋतुराज दिन आइ……।

It is the composition of Sadāraṅga.

Some of the compositions of the *dhruvapada* were written in praise of the Kings or the Rulers, which were not possessed of poetic value and dignity. As for example, Tānsen himself composed a *dhruvapada* in praise of his previous patron, Rāmachandra :

ए राजाराम निरञ्जन हिन्दुपति सुलतान
कियो करतार, सकल सृष्टि भरण-पोषण। etc.

Tānsen wrote about the Emperor Akbar :

ए आयो आयो मेरे गृह छत्रपति,
अकबर, मन भयो करम जगायो।

* * *

तानसेन कहे यह शुनो नरपति अकबर,
जीवन जनम सुफल कर पायो।

These compositions may be regarded as the secondhand ones.

Rabindranath Tagore composed many *dhruvapaba-prabandhas* in Bengali on the pattern of the *dhruvapadas*, composed in Hindusthānī language. They are excellent for their poetic graces and values. Rabindranath really proved that the *sāhityas*, not only of the *dhruvapada* but also of all kinds of song, should be possessed of literary grace and poetic beauty, and if the *sāhityas* of the songs are devoid of poetic value, they should not be ranked in the class of *sāhitya*.

Regarding the classes and characteristics of the *gānas*, Pārśvadeva said that the *gānas* and the *gītis* are numerous according to the taste of the people—'तस्य गानस्य जनानां रुचिविशेषण बहवोभेदः उक्ताः'। These were quoted by Siṁhabhupāla, while commenting on the *ślokas* 1-18 of the *prabandha* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Pārśvadeva said,

क्रियाकारकसंयुक्तं सन्धिदोषविवर्जितम्।
व्यक्तस्वरसमायुक्तं व्यक्तं पण्डितसंमतम्॥

* * * *

प्रेमोद्दीप्तपदप्रायं शृङ्गाररसभूषितम् ।
करुणाकाकुसंयुक्तं करुणं विरहिप्रियम् ॥
गूढ़ार्थैः परमार्थैश्च संसारसुखमुखकैः ।
पदैर्नियोजितं गीतं शुद्धपञ्चमनिर्मितम् ॥
विवाहद्युत्सवे गेयं मंगलं महिलाप्रियम् ।
देवतास्तुतिसंयुक्तं ततप्रभावप्रबोधकम् ॥

Therefore the *sāhityas* with tunes may be composed in various ways with different themes in various languages, but it should be remembered that they should be regarded as the means or mediums for creating and manifesting æsthetic sentiments and moods, which help the people to appreciate the *gānas* and *gītis*[45] in their true perspectives.

45. It has already been said that *gāna* and *gīti* are not considered in the same category, as by *gāna* we mean the ancient stage-songs (*nātya-gītis*), like *dhruvā*, *prābeśiki naiṣkrāmiki*, etc., and by *gīti* we mean the *deśaja māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *pṛthulā*, *sambhāvitā*, *brahmāgīti*, *kapālagīti*, *kambalagīti*, etc.

CHAPTER NINE

DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN SANSKRIT

Tradition is a method or procedure that maintains continuity and transmits achievements of the past to the future. It is a social heritage, and it determines certain behaviour-patterns that conserve progressive factors of the society. Tradition has some power of invention of new and novel things which break the stagnant and monotonous forms and flows of things. The human achievements are possessed of two distinctive factors, the *factor of conservation* and the *factor of progression*, and tradition being and of the inevitable ingredients of the human achievements, is known as a *conservative factor* that ensures continuity of achievements and promotes stability and strength. Tradition is both the powers of transmission and conservation of form and value.

All the fine arts like music, architecture, sculpture, and painting have some tradition having novel principles and promotive motives in them. The traditional music of India undergoes many changes under the influence of many temporal and special as well as of racial factors. The music is defined in the Sanskrit treatises as a combination of arts of singing, drumming, and dancing, though vocal aspect became predominant in the human society. Music evolved and was practised or cultured in different ages with its different forms and ingredients. It has been discussed before that different styles of music evolved for different tastes and temperaments of the people of the society, and they were folk music, classical music, sacred temple music, and light music. Dance and musical instruments also accompanied them for keeping time or rhythm, tempo, and æsthetic beauty.

Music requires some medium, and we have discussed that language and tone are the vital forms of that medium. Tone is the flavouring and beautifying part of the medium,

and language is the expressive and conveying part. The language is the sign or symbol that conveys some ideas, and sweet language expresses the idea of song which is accompanied by colourful tones and tunes along with *alaṁkāra, tāna, gamaka, kāku, sthāya* or *ṭhāya*, and other musical materials and phrases. Music is recognised as a symbol of the Absolute, nay, it sings the eternal song of the Absolute, and tones, tunes and languages help music to be meaningful with permanent value and beauty.

As the human beings live in the society of mutual understanding of ideas and actions, so they must possess some vehicle or medium that can express and exchange views and ideas among the people. Like other language, Sanskrit was a medium of music from the very ancient time. Sanskrit was known as the *deva-bhāṣā* or the spoken language of the *Devas* or bright spirits. Sanskrit may be recognised as the basic language. Well has it been spoken by many of the savants of both the East and the West about the value of Sanskrit in relation to linguistic and social subjects. While discussing about philology in connection with his subject on *Oriental Proverbs and Their Bases*, read before the International Congress of Orientality, held in London in September 1874, the Rev. Long said : "After eliminating the Sanskrit or Semetic elements from the Indian Languages in their Prākṛt and modern form, we come to primitive or Turanian element common to those languages which were spoken through India before the Brāhmaṇical invader crossed the Himālayas and drove the aborigines to the hills and *Dakṣiṇa-Āraṇye*, or forests of the great South."[1] It is true that the archaic words and forms in proverbs current in the ancient societies, supplied us some important clue as to the steps by which Sanskrit itself passed from old strata to new ones, and ultimately it passed into the Prākṛt, and then into the modern vernacular form. Now, from the writings of the *Vedas*, *Saṁhitās*,

1. Vide, p. 388.

Brāhmaṇas, *Śikṣās*, *Prātiśākhya*, *Kāvyas*, and *Nātakas*, we come to know that the medium of the ideas of them was Sanskrit.

It has already been said that art of music is very ancient. Facts and records of history and findings of archælogical explorations from time to time supply us genuine proofs that music was in practice even in the remote prehistoric days. From the diggings of the mounds of Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and also from the remains of Rupper, Prabhās-Pattan, and other places, we come to know many crude and undeveloped types of musical instrument like lutes, cymbals, drums, along with a dancing girl, but we cannot know the definite form of language that were used in the vocal music practised in the prehistoric cities. There is a controversy whether Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and other prehistoric cities were Vedic or not, and this is not the proper place to discuss that matter, but yet it can be said with certainty that Sanskrit language formed the text-part (*sāhitya*) of Vedic music, *sāmagāna*. The *sāmans* were of different types with different Vedic tones, and they also differed in their forms and renderings in different recensions of the Vedas. The *sāmagānas* were generally pentatonic in form, i.e. they were tuned with five tones or notes. From the Vedic literature we know that the *Kauthumiya* recension (*śākhā*) used sometime six and seven tones in their *gānas*. Now, without entering into detailed discussions on the characteristics and methods of rendering of the *sāmagānas*, it can be said that some of the *gānas* (*sāmans*) were recited in basic tones of base or low, medium or circumflex and acute or high i.e. *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *udātta*, and most of the *gānas* were sung with Vedic notes, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *chaturtha*, *mandra*, *atisvārya* and *kruṣta*, which corresponded to the regional tones, *madhyama*, *gāndhāra*, *ṛṣabha*, etc. Sanskrit was the text-part of those songs, and from the *Ṛk-tantra*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya* and other *Prātiśākhyas*, we know that Sanskrit was the texts or *sāhitya* of the Vedic songs which were composed in praise of different Vedic deities, invoked before the blazing tongues of the sacrificial fires. Some of the Sanskrit text-

parts of the *sāmagānas* were the *Sāvitrīmantram* or *Brahma-gāyatri*, like : उँ नमः सामवेदायः। गायत्रम। ऊँ तत सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गों देवस्य धोमही etc. ; or *Ājyadohagānam* : उँ नमः सामवेदाय। ज्येष्ठसाम। आज्यदोहम्। As for example, ऋचा मूर्द्धानं दिबो अरतिं पृथिन्या etc., or *Mahāvamadevya-gānam* : नमो सामवेदाय। महादेन्यम etc. As for example, ऋचा कयानः चित्र आभूबदुतीं सदावृधः सखा etc. The *Gāthā-nāraśaṁśī* used to be sung also in the sacred Vedic and post-Vedic sacrifices, and the priests (*yājñikas*) were the singers.

Most of the Sanskrit text-parts were dedicated to different deities of the Vedic sacrifices and sacred rites in the Vedic period. The intonations of the Sanskrit texts of the Vedic songs were something peculiar and novel, as most of the words of the Sanskrit text-parts were elongated with the vowels. There were different methods of intonation of the Sanskrit text-parts, and they were *viśleṣaṇa*, *vikāra*, *vikarṣaṇa*, *abhyāsa*, *virāma*, etc.[2] In the *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad*, the Sanskrit text-parts were divided into *hiṁkāra*, *udgītha*, *prastāva*, *pratihāra*, and *nidhāna*, as we find different music parts like *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, *antarā*, *ābhoga*, etc. in the *prabandha-gānas* of the classical period, or *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañchārī*, and *ābhoga* of the *gānas* of the mediæval and modern periods. There were some meaningless letters called *stobha*, and they were used as the elongated portion of the *gānas* in order to suit the tones arranged in order, or in succession.

The figures 1, 2, 3 were mostly used on the text-part to indicate the basic register-tones *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. These were known as very old methods, and afterwards the Vedic tones like *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, etc. or the non-Vedic *laukika* tones, *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, etc. were used. There were different kinds of *stobha*, such as *varṇa-stobha*, *pada-stobha*, etc. In the classical period, the *stobhas* were used to elongate or to lengthen the words or sounds for creating æsthetic sentiments and moods in songs. As for example, 'आदिदेव महादेव त्रिशूलपानि जटाधर' etc. The form of their Sanskrit text-part,

2. These have been explained before.

having *stobhākṣara*, will be :

आ आ आ दि दे ऐ ऐ ब। म हा आ दे ऐ ब।

त्रि शू उ ल पा आ आ णि। ज टा आ ध अ र अ etc.

These elongated word-sounds are the *stobhas* which help to create æsthetic sentiments and moods. Now, to pronounce the words (*sāhitya*) of the songs we generally take notice in using vowels and consonants. Tantra considers the vowels as Śiva, the basic consciousness or unmanifested concentrated energy and the consonants, as Śakti, the manifested energy. But both vowels and consonants (*svara* and *vyañjana varṇas*) are known in Tantra as *mātrikā-varṇa*. The *mātrikā-varṇas* are the *varṇamālā* or *muṇḍamālā* (*muṇḍa*—human-head and *mālā*—garland of the human heads) in the neck of Kāli or Śakti. Now, it is a fact that without the help of vowels, consonants are inactive and lifeless. Tantra literature says that until and unless Śiva, the static consciousness, supplies energy to Śakti, Śakti cannot manifest herself as the dynamic energy which is no other than the world-appearance. So Śiva is the norm and Śakti is the appearance or manifestation. It is also found that until we add vowels to consonants, consonants (*Ka* to *Ma-varṇas*) remain inactive and motionless, and cannot create æsthetic sentiments and moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*) in sentences and music. The treatises of music also say that *rasa* or *rasakalā* originates when consonants come in contact with the vowels; and it is also found that when we utter the consonants or *vyañjana-varṇas*, we automatically use the vowels (*svara-varṇas*) to make the consonants fully manifested and meaningful. As for example, when we pronounce *Ka*, we say *Ka*+*Ah* (क+अ), and in this way the consonants take help of the vowels to make themselves fully manifested. Further, it is both the psychological and scientific fact that vowels are the cause of originating æsthetic sentiments in the words and songs, and as greater number of vowels we add in the consonants of the text-parts (*sāhityas*) of the songs, the greater quantity of sentiments (*rasa*) originate or manifest, so the expert musicians use greater

and at the same time balanced number of vowels in the text-parts of the songs. Here, in the Sanskrit text-part, *ādi-deva Mahādeva* we have used in each consonant or *vyañjana-varṇa* same number of vowels or *svara-varṇas* so as to make the song sweet and meaningful saturated with æsthetic sentiments.

Now in the Vedic song *sāmagāna* we find the Sanskrit text-part (*sāhitya*) : 'ऊँ अग्न आयाहि बीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये । नि होता सतसि बर्हिषि' etc. This *mantra* ऊँ अग्ने आयाहि used to be sung in three distinctive methods. There were 3681 *gānas* in the *Jaiminīya* recension and 2722 in the Kauthumiya and Rāṇāyaniya recension and their total number was 6403 and, therefore, there were 6403 Sanskrit text-parts in the Vedic song approximately.

In the classical period, i.e., in the *Rāmāyaṇa* period (400 B.C.), we find that the wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa-gānas* in three registers, and they were enriched with *mūrcchanās* and several *jātirāgas* and two *vikṛta-svara*, *antara-gāndhāra* and *kākalī niṣāda* (vide the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* 1.4.8-10).

Pāṭhya means text or *sāhitya*. The *pāṭhyas* were in Sanskrit.[3] Besides, *pāṭhyas* were composed of Prākṛt and other languages. In the *Mahābhārata* (300 B.C.), we find many references of the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of songs, rectified and modified, in which Sanskrit text-parts were used. In the *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* (200 B.C.), we find that the Bhaimas, known as Natas, used to play the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* drama (*nṛtya-nātya*), in which songs with Sanskrit text-parts were sung in *gāndhāra-grāma* : 'आगान्धारग्रामरागां गंगावतरणं तथा' (vide Viṣṇuparva, 93/8-28).

Similarly, in the Buddhist period, we find many songs with Sanskrit and Prākṛt text-parts, and the Buddhist *Jātakas* have mentioned about them. In the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādya, *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra of Kāśmīr, *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Soma-deva, and also in the mythological books like *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśika*, *Śukasaptati*, and Jain *Kathākoṣa*, we find many

3. Vide the chapter eight of this book, where styles and *sāhityas*, along with the languages have been discussed.

prabandha type of songs, the text-parts of which were Sanskrit, and some were also in Prākṛt and Pāli. In the Buddhist *Lalitavistara*, we find many *gāthā-gānas*, with Sanskrit text-parts. The *veeṇās* with different strings, and even with hundred strings were used in the songs. In the Vedic and Brahmanic period, we find *vāṇa-veeṇā* and *kātyāyaṇī-veeṇā* with hundred strings of *muñjā* grass or entrails of animals.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find seven pure type of *jātigāna* or *jātirāga-gāna* (vide 4th chapt.). In Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* (2nd century A.D.), we find eighteen *jātirāga-gānas* with different vital tones or *aṁśa-svaras*. It should be noted that the *grāma-rāgas* and *grāmarāga-gānas* evolved along with the *jātigānas* (vide *Harivaṁśa* and *Nāradīśikṣā*). Besides, there evolved some classico-religional songs or *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, *pṛthulā*, and *sambhāvita* (vide *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, chapt. I). The text-parts of the *jātigāna* were Sanskrit, which were in praise of Śiva. Śāraṅgadeva (13th century) has illustrated the *ṣāḍjī-jātirāga-gāna* with Sanskrit text-part as :

सा सा सा सा पा निधा पा धानि * * *
तं ँ भ ब ल ला० ० ट०

That is, the text-part runs thus—

तं भव-ललाट-नयनाम्बूजाधिकम्
नगसूणुप्रणयकेलिसमुद्भबम ।
सरसकृत-तिलक-पण्डकानुलेपनं
प्रणमामि कामदेहेन्धनानलम ॥

The method of singing the *jātigāna* with *ṣāḍjī-jātirāga* has fully been described in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (Adyār ed., pp. 199-202). Similarly, the Sanskrit text-part of the *jātigāna* with *ārṣabhī-jātirāga* is :

गुणलोचनादिकमनन्तं अमरमजरमक्षयमजेयम ।
प्रणमामि दिव्यमणिदर्पणामलनिकेतं भवमेयम ।

in the *Nātyaśāstra*, *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* and other books.

In this way, eighteen *jātigānas* were described. The *jātis* are the fore-runners of the *rāgas*. They are the parent *rāgas*, which gave birth to all the classical and formalised *deśī-rāgas*.

It has already been said that the Sanskrit text-parts of the classico-regional *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, etc. were in Sanskrit. As for example,

मा गा मा धा धनि धनि सनि धा
दे ० व ँ देव · रु ० द्रं
रिग रिग भग रि सा etc.
देवं रुद्रं वन दे ०

The *māgadhī* type of *gīti* evolved from the *Magadhadeśa*. In this way, Śāraṅgadeva has illustrated the Sanskrit text-parts of other three *gītis* with notations and methods of presentation.[4] All the Sanskrit text-parts were composed in praise of Śiva.

It should be mentioned in this connection that many Sanskrit hymns, composed in memory of Śiva, Śakti, and other Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain deities, were set to tune and used to be chanted in sacred occasions with different rhythms and tempi. They are known as the *stotragāna*. Śaṅkarāchārya, Rāmānūja, and other religious Teachers and many of the Vaiṣṇava mystic saints of both North and South composed many devotional hymns which were sung in different melodies. The Buddhist Vajrayānī Siddhāchāryas of the 10th-11th century composed many *charyā* and *vajra gītis* in Sanskrit-Bengali, which are known as the suggestive *sandhyābhāṣā*. The *therā* and *therī gāthās* of the Buddhist monks and nuns were also composed in Pāli and Sanskrit languages, and used to be chanted in different Vihāras for getting blessings of the Lord Buddha. The mediæval temple hymnal songs were of the similar nature.

There were seven kinds of *gītis* which were known as *Kapāla* and *Kambala* :

'इति सप्तकपालानि गायण ब्रह्मोदितैः पदैः।
स्वरैश्च पार्वतीकास्तस्तुतौ कल्याणभाग भवेत' ॥

The *Kapāla* and *Kambala gītis* were known as the *bhrama-gītis*, i.e. the Sanskrit *padas* or texts were ordained by Brahmā, the Creator : ब्रह्मप्रोक्तं पदावलीम्। The Sanskrit texts were : झन्दुं झन्दुं।

4. Vide *Ratnākara*, Adyār ed., pp. 282-286.

खट्वाङ्गधरं द्रंष्ट्राकरालं तड़ितसदृशजिह्वम। हौ हौ हौ ** कृतविकटमुखम नमामि देवं भैरवम।

These *kapālagītis* were sung with seven pure *jātirāgas* like *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī*, etc.

Bharata further mentioned in the *Nātyaśāstra* the sixty-four *dhruvā-gānas* (*gāndharva*) which are not khown as the later *dhruvapada* or *dhrupad*, evolved from *sālaga-sūḍa prabandha.* The *dhruvās* were presented in different meters, i.e., *chhandas*, *vṛttas* and *jātis* and the text-parts were in both Sanskrit and Prākṛt. As for example,

(a) शंकरः शूलभृत, पातु मां लोककृतम—Sanskrit

(b) संअन्ततो अंगअस्मि वाइ बाओ पुष्पबाहो—Prākṛt.

One of the Sanskrit texts of the *dhruvā-gānas* is in *kaiśīki-rāga* :

केलिहतकामतनुविभ्रमविलासं,

तिलकपतं मूर्धोंधवालसोमनिभम। etc.

In Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*, Pārśvadeva's *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, and Nārada's *Makaranda*, we find different types of song, in which Sanskrit was used as text-part or *sāhitya*.

In the Gupta and Maurya period, we find many *prabandha-gānas* which were sung with the Sanskrit text-parts. Mahākavi Kālidās mentioned different types of song, including *Maṅgala-gīti* : किन्नरैरुपसि गीतमंगलः। These *gītis* or *gītamaṅgalas* were *asirvachanas* with *nāndī*. The Sūtas, Magadhas, and the prisoners (*Bandis*) used to sing these *maṅgala-gītis* wishing success of the kings or rulers. Śāraṅgadeva mentioned about the *Prabandha-gāna*, *Maṅgala*, or *Maṅgala-gāna* used to be sung in *kaiśīki* and *botta rāgas*. Kālidās mentioned about the *maṅgala-gīti* in the *Kumārasambhava*. The *rāga botta* or *bhotta* was incorporated in the list of Indian *rāgas* from the Himālayan Bhotadeśa or Tibet. Kālidās said about the *gītis* like *charcharī*, *jambhalikā*, etc., the text-parts of which were the Sanskrit. In the *Abhijñāna-Sakuntalam*, Kālidās described different types of *prabandha-gītis*, the text-parts of which were composed in Sanskrit language with different

meters. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Kālidās described the *chhālika* i.e. *chhālikya-gīti*. In the *Harivaṁśa*, it has been described that text-parts of the *chhālikya gīti* were in Sanskrit or Prākṛt. Six or seven *grāmarāgas* accompanied the stage-song, *chhālikya*. Sometimes dances followed the *gītis*. In Sudraka's *Mṛcchakatika*, we also find music : कुरु' च संगीतकं मया। From the description of Chārudatta, we come to know that music in Śudraka's book was purely classical, and its *sāhitya* was both in Sanskrit and Prākṛt.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Bhagavata* and other *Purāṇas*, we find the mention of *prabandha* types of music. They were tuned with *jātirāgas* and other *deśī-rāgas*, and their text-parts were in Sanskrit. In the *Purāṇas*, we find seven kinds of *brahmagītis* like *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *pāṇika*, *obenaka*, *rovindaka*, etc. These *brahmagītis* used to be presented in three ancient *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama*, and *gāndhāra*. Nārada of the *Śikṣā* (1st century, A.D.) told that in his time, the *gāndhāra-grāma* was obsolete. The *brahmagītis* were sung in Sanskrit language. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* say that even the Baramu-khah like Ghṛtachī, Menakā, Visvāchī, Tilottomā, and others knew Sanskrit and used to sing songs in the *deva-bhāṣā*. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* mentioned some of the *rāgas* named after different sacrifices like *Agnistoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Rājasūya*, etc., and many of their Sanskrit *sāhityas* were composed in the spirit of sacred sacrifices.

In the twelfth-thirteenth century, in West Bengal, we find some Sanskrit *padagītis* like Kavi Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, Lilā-śuka-Vilvamaṅgala Ṭhākur's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* and others. The text-parts of the *Gītagovinda* are in Sanskrit-Bengali. They are impregnated with different æsthetic sentiments, and the basic *rasa*, *śṛṅgāra* is predominant in them. The Sanskrit texts are set to tune with classical melodies. The *Gītagovinda* is known as the *nibaddha-prabandha-gāna*. Let us cite two Sanskrit text-parts which are sweet, sonorous, and musical in themselves :

ललितलवङ्गलता-परिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे ।
मधुकरनिकरकरम्बित-कोकिलकूजित कुञ्जकुटीरे ।।

This Sanskrit text-part is sung in the *rāga vasanta* and in *yati-tāla*.

चन्दनचर्चित-नीलकलेवर पीतबसनबनमाली ।
केलिचलन्मनिकुण्डलमण्डित गण्डयुगस्मितशाली ॥

It was sung in the *rāga rāmakirī* or *rāmakrī* and *yati-tāla*. The forms of the *rāgas* which were current even in the 12th-13th century, were changed for the changing of the determining standard scale. The ancient standard scale *kāphī* was changed into *vilābala* in the beginning of the 19th century, and Muhammad Rezā Khān and others took the leading part in that new movement.

The similar Sanskrit compositions with æsthetic sentiments and literary grace are found in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, composed by Lilāśuka Vilvamaṅgala Ṭhākur in the 13th century. Some fragments of the *Karṇāmṛta* was brought to Bengal by Śrī Chaitanya in the 16th century. Though the *rāgas* are not definitely mentioned in the *Karṇāmṛta*, yet we believe that the *sāhityas* were set to different tunes, and rhythms. Let me cite a Sanskrit text-part of the *Karṇāmṛta-gīti*, which is composed in *mālinī-chhanda* :

मधुरमधरबिम्बे मञ्जुलं मन्दहासे
शिशिरममृतनादे शीतलं दृष्टिपाते ।
विपुलमरुणनेत्रे विश्र तं बेणुवादे
मरकतमणिनीलं बालमालोकये णु ॥६४

CHAPTER TEN

AESTHETIC CONTENTS IN INDIAN MUSIC

A

CONCEPT AND DEVELOPMENT

Concept of Aesthetics : *Western*

The quest for beauty is inherent in every sensible and art-loving man. But how that beauty is appreciated ? For appreciation of beauty, or the beautiful, two factors are mainly required, one, a work of art, and another, an ability to appreciate it. "These two factors", said H.H. Śrī Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyār Bāhādur, "the ability to create a work of beauty, and the ability to appreciate anything beautiful, constitute roughly the business of æsthetics".

That which is pleasing or pleasant, is beautiful or æsthetic, i.e. we perhaps mean or say that 'beautiful' is a form of 'pleasant' and also of 'good'. Well has it been said by Dr. E. F. Carritt : "Reflection makes it difficult to believe that beauty, any more than pleasantness, is really a quality which belongs to physical things even when these things are not being perceived by human beings, or, when they are, strike them as ugly or indifferent. It is truer to say that certain objects perceived by the senses, especially colours, shapes and sound, or the mental images of these, are capable of arousing in some persons, at some times, or even in all at all times, an experience we call 'æsthetic'.[1]

In music, we find that when the audiences get some mental pictures of a tone, or of some tones, or of some *rāgas*, constituted out of permutation and combination of tones or notes,

1. Vide, *Philosophy* : Chapter IX (edited by Dr. I. Levine), p. 305.

they are moved by the emotive feelings, which are aroused by tone, or tones, or by some *rāgas* at some times, or even at all times, and the experience of that emotive feeling is called *aesthetic*. Majority of people generally experience and appreciate the pleasant feeling of some poetry, or of painting, or of architecture, or of music, and call it an æsthetic sensation. Wordsworth who used to call poetry an emotion recollected in peace and tranquillity, probably hit the truth which is associated with the Beautiful. Dr. Carritt said that we talk of the 'enjoyment' of beauty, and to experience beauty is certainly pleasurable, but so is the experience of truth and of goodness. "Even if the truth we discover, is painful, there is a certain 'pleasure' in the satisfaction of one's intellectual curiosity, and even if moral goodness involves sacrifice, it brings some moral satisfaction or pleasure too." All kinds of art too, whether music, or painting, or architecture, even if it deals with pain, as in tragedy, yields *aesthetic* pleasure. So it can be concluded that beauty and pleasure cannot be simply identified. Prof. S. Alexander also explained this fact in his monumental book, *Space, Time and Deity*.

Dr. Carritt said that æsthetic experience can be said to be the *knowledge of human emotions*, a knowledge by which we become directly acquainted with something and do not just learn its particular description. Now, it must be admitted that the feeling of a man reads into nature, or even into art, depends on his mood and experience. This is especially true of music.

Regarding feelings and imagination of beauty or goodness, Dr. Carritt further said that neither belief on evidence, nor conscious fiction, is æsthetic. It is only when we appear to *see* our own feelings or activities in what we perceive, because we have projected them into it, and do not ask whether the insight is true or false, that we have the æsthetic or contemplative, and not the practical or scientific attitude. Imagination is now involved, and our motions are expressed. Such imagination works both ways. We imagine *ourselves* enjoying the

movement of waves or seagulls or the feelings of heroes, and we imagine *them* feeling as we should do in our places.[2]

Now, the æsthetic experience or feeling, expressed in some sensuous form, real or imaginary, takes place wholly in one individual mind, though it may not be complete till the sensuous imagery in the mind has been given material form in the external world. Some are of the opinion that until and unless the self-expression of an artist is communicable, it cannot properly be called a work of art. Croce admitted it fully, and Collingwood partially. But it is true that an æsthetic experience may be complete or perfect, but yet not be communicated, but only when it has been communicated, by accident or by purpose, can there be critical interpretation. Such questions of interpretation are not æsthetic.

For communication of æsthetic ideas and pleasure in the field of creation of art, artists are solely responsible. The artists have probably audiences in mind, however small, at least as soon as he begins to use a medium, said Dr. Carritt. They will prefer the languages, the styles, the musical notations and phrases, which they think will signify most to their choosen audience. But it should be remembered that the audiences desire or expect not only to get keen æsthetic experience from works of art, but to get also as nearly as possible the experience of the artists themselves. But there is a question of *expression* *technique* which are essential for best production of art. Prof. Collingwood drew a distinction between them, and said that distinction between *expression* (an æsthetic experience which satisfies an individual mind) and *technique* (ways of communicating it as nearly as possible to others) can be drawn as a distinction between art and craft. Dr. Collingwood said that "an art aims at beauty, but does not know how it will turn out till it is achieved, or, we might say, art aims at expressing

2. Vide, *Philosophy*: Man's Search for Reality, edited by Dr. I. Levine, p. 312. Dr. Carritt elaborately dealt with this subject in his *Theory of Beauty*.

feeling, but only *knows* fully the nature of that feeling when it has been expressed, as the mathematician aims at solving a problem, but does not know what the solution will be. Once the expression is complete, we usually devise means to the conscious end of communication".

Regarding the contrast between Classical and Romantic art, Dr. Carritt said that art sometimes refers to the difference between artists with apparently strong or strange feelings which they cannot express quite successfully even to themselves, and artists who can fully express more ordinary feelings. In other words, sometimes the contrast between Classical and Romantic is between the æsthetic experiences of different artists and sometimes, though less frequently and properly, between their technical abilities of communication. "In all æsthetic experience, which is expression, there must be present same element of passion and same element of tranquil recollection or imagination. The technique of an artist determines whether he can communicate to his audience a complete fusion of the two. Prof. Harold Osborne beautifully explained this subject in his recent book, *The Art of Appreciation*.

Thus we find that the problem of æsthetic has been dealt with by a band of ancient, mediæval and modern philosophers. Greek philosophers discussed this problem, which was elaborately handled by the mediæval and modern writers. Prof. Will Durant said that Aristotle almost created the study of æsthetics, the theory of beauty and art. Artistic creation, said Aristotle, springs from the formative impulse and the craving for emotional expression. Essentially the form of art is an imitation of reality; it holds the mirror up to nature. There is in man a pleasure in imitation, apparently missing in lower animals. Yet the aim of art is to represent not the outward appearance of things, but their inward significance...... The noblest art appeals to the intellect as well as to the feelings....... and this intellectual pleasure is the highest form of joy to which a man can rise. Hence a work of art should aim at form, and above all at unity, which is the backbone of structure

and the focus of form.[3]

Afterwards, Kant, Hegel and other philosophers explained the nature of æsthetics. Kant said that artistic creation is a form of purposive activity, and ascribed beauty both to nature and to works of art. He argued that when we say something is beautiful and good, we do not ascribe a quality to an object, but we indicate that we take delight or pleasure in the object. He further said that æsthetic judgment is both objective and subjective, and he elaborately discussed this view in his *Critique of Judgment*. There he discussed that æsthetic beauty has meaning only for human beings who are partly rational and partly irrational, and as he is partly irrational, he has need of beauty. After Kant, Schelling and Fichte discussed about æsthetic contents. Then Hegel considered the work of art as a sensuous representation of the Absolute, which is universally whole. He discussed about Symbolic Art, Classical Art and Romatic Art in beautiful ways. The Romantic Art, he said, is represented in music and poetry, because music and poetry have greater and wider significance than sculpture, but from the view-point of form, music and poetry are inferior to sculpture.

Now, while writing on the philosophy of art of Schelling, Hegel said in his *Lectures on The History of Philosophy* : "On account of that permeation, art and poetry, therefore, hold the highest rank in Schelling's estimation. But art is the Absolute in sensuous form alone. Where and what could the work of art be, which should correspond to the Idea of the spirit? 'The universe is formed in the Absolute as the most perfect work of art : for Reason, which recognizes the Absolute in it, it possesses absolute truth ; for the imagination, which represents the Absolute in it, it possesses absolute Beauty. Each of these expresses the very same unity', regarded 'from different sides; and both arrive at the absolute indifference point in the

3. Vide *The Story of Philosophy* (Pocket Books, INC, New York, 1956), pp. 73-74.

recognition of which lies both the beginning and the aim of real knowledge."[4] It seems that Hegel agreed with the ideal conclusion, made by Schelling, regarding art or æsthetic. Hegel and Schelling admitted somehow or other the Indian viewpoint of æsthetic or *rasa*.

Croce elaborately discussed the problem of æsthetic. He was of the opinion that intuition is the source of feeling and expression, and said that pure intuition and æsthetic activity are identical, for beauty is expression and every true intuition is at the same time expression. Again, real art is internal i.e. purely *mental*, and it is the successful expression that intuition lends to our impressions, feelings, etc. The intuitive musician creates music, and that which has already been said within, sings what has been really sung within, i.e., he externalizes what has been inwardly intuited. So expression, the essence of art, is *mental*. "The terminology", said Croce, "is unfortunate, because the work of art is always and only internal, and what is external, is no longer the work of art".[5]

Therefore it is a fact that beauty, which is expression, truly belongs to the mental intuition. Croce was known to be an expressionist, because expression, according to him, is the essence of art, and that is purely mental or internal. Like Croce, Gentile maintained the view that work of art, or æsthetic activity, lives in the imagination of the artist, and 'an art is an exaltation of the subject released from the chains of the mind', and art is there not for its own sake, but for the soul's life, for its feelings.

Croce admitted that Kant has thrown much light on the problem of æsthetic judgement, but still he differed from Kant in many points. While Prof. D. M. Datta mentioning this difference, said, "while Kant places the æsthetic faculty very high among spiritual activities, even beyond the intellectual

4. Vide Hegel's *Lectures of the History of Philosophy*, translated by Haldane and Simson (published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, E.C. 4), Vol. III, p. 540.

5. Vide *Estetica*, p. 58.

and the moral, and while even Hegel places Art among the highest triad of his dialectic, along with Religion and Philosophy, Croce seeks for the foundation of art in intuition, the lowest, rather the most primary, activity of the human mind."[6] So Croce's theory of art as expression "explains, among other things, the question how there can be beauty in a work of art that contains the tragic, pathetic, melancholy and even the disgusting aspects of life."[7]

Now, let us discuss about Edward Hanslick's theory of art and beautiful in music. Hanslick was born (1825-1904) in Prague, and his book, *The Beautiful in Music* deals with the major problems of musical æsthetics : the aim of music, its intrinsic nature, the relation between music and reality, and the role of the listener. Hanslick's writings have exerted much influence upon musical criticism and philosophicnl æsthetics, said Morris Weitz. In seven chapters, Hanslick efficiently dealt with the problems of æsthetics as founded on feelings, representation of feelings, beautiful in music, effects of music, musical contemplation, music and nature, and the subject of music. He said that the beautiful is and remains beautiful though it arouse no emotion whatever and though there be no one to look at it. He distinguished *sensation* and *feeling* which are the main aspects of art-activity. He said : "*Sensation* is the act of perceiving some sensible quality, such as a sound or a colour, whereas *feeling* is the consciousness of some psychical activity i.e. a state of satisfaction or discomfort.[8] It is time that the object of music is to arouse our feelings, and to fill our hearts with piety, love, joy, or sadness ; or other emotional mood. While explaining 'music and nature' (in Chapter VI), Hanslick said : "Art—considered, first of all, as passive, not as active—stands in a twofold relation to surrounding nature,

6. Vide *The Chief Current of Contemporary Philosophy* (Second edition, 1961), pp. 90-91.

7. Ibid., p. 91.

8. Vide *The Beautiful in Music* (The Library of Liberal Arts, New York), p. 10.

primarily, in respect of the crude matter from which it produces, and secondly, in respect of the forms of beauty which the external world affords it for outside reproduction. In both cases, nature stands to art in the position of a kindly benefactress by supplying the most vital and essential requirements. It must now be our endeavour to quickly review these resources in the interest of musical æsthetics, and to inquire what share of the rational and, therefore, unequal gifts of nature has fallen to the lot of music.[9] He confessed that "on comparing music with other arts (painting, architecture and sculpture), it is obvious that nature has provided no model of becoming its subject matter, and so *there is nothing beautiful in nature as far as music is concerned*". He further said : "The work of the painter or poet is continual copying or reproducing (drawn from reality or the imagination), but it is impossible to copy music from nature." It is clear, therefore, that the relation of music to nature is most intimately connected with the question of its subject matter.

While explaining the representation of feeling of music, Hanslick said that 'every art comprises a range of ideas which it expresses after its own fashion in sound, language, colour, stone, etc. A work of art, therefore, endows a definite conception with a material form of beauty. This definite conception, its embodiment, and the union of both are conditions of an æsthetic ideal with which a critical examination into every art is indissolubly connected."[10]

Now it can be asked as to what part of the feelings can music represent ? To this it can be said that music can represent only the dynamic properties of feeling, and it is quite true that music is unable to express the abstract notions. Hanslick said that no art can do this, "for it is a matter of course that only definite and concrete ideas (those that have assumed a living form, as it were) can be incorporated by an art." Vicher also defined determinate ideas as the domains of

9. Ibid., p. 104.
10. Ibid., p. 20.

life, provided that the corresponding realities be assumed to agree with our conception, for conception always denotes the pure and faultless image of the reality.

Hanslick was of the opinion that "sounds, like colours, are originally associated in our minds with certain symbolical meanings which produce their effects independently of and antecedently to any design of art...... Nature herself has established a sympathetic connection. ......In like manner, the first elements of music, such as the various keys, chords, and timbers, have severally a character of their own. There exists in fact, a but-too-ready art of interpreting the meanings of musical elements." Further he said that "whenever the question of the representation of objects by musical means is under debate, we are, with an air of wisdom, assured over and over again that, though music is unable to portray phenomena which are foreign to its province, it nevertheless may picture the feelings which they excite. The very reverse is the case. Music can undertake to imitate objective phenomena only, and never the specific feeling they arouse. ..... In point of strength, pitch, velocity and rhythm, sounds present to the ear a figure bearing that degree of analogy to certain visual impressions which sensations of various kinds bear to one another."[11]

Hanslick said that "the beautiful is not contingent upon nor in need of any subject introduced from without, but that it contains wholly of sound artistically combined.......primordial element of music is euphony, and rhythm is its soul; Melody......is pre-eminently the source of musical beauty. Harmony, with its countless modes of transforming, inverting, and intensifying, offers the material for constantly new developments, while rhythm, the main artery of the musical organism, is the regulator of both, and enhances the charms of the timber in its rich variety." These have been said mainly about the materials of Western music, but yet they are useful for Indian music too.

11. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

Now what is the object of art ? Hanslick said : "The object of every art is to clothe in some material form *an idea*, which has originated in the artists imagination. In music, this idea is an acoustic one, it cannot be expressed in words and subsequently translated into sound. The initial force of a composition is the invention of some definite theme, and not the desire to describe a given emotion by musical means. ...The beauty of an independent and simple theme appeals to our æsthetic feeling with that directness which tolerates no explanation except, perhaps, that of its inherent fitness and the harmony of parts, to the exclusion of any alien factor. It pleases for its own sake, like an arabesque, a column, or some spontaneous product of nature—a leaf or a flower.[12]

Really music as a Fine Art excells all other arts in its serenity and pleasing and soothing nature. "There is no Art", said Hanslick, "which, like music, uses up so quickly such a variety of forms. ...Many schools of æsthetic think musical enjoyment is fully accounted for by the pleasure derived from mere regularity and symmetry, but these never were the sole attributes of beauty in the abstract, and much less so of beauty in music. ...But the musical sense wants symmetry *combined with originality*.[13]

It is a fact that mental activity is a necessary concomitant in every æsthetic enjoyment, and often varies very considerably in several individuals listening to one and the same composition (of song). And it is also true that truly æsthetic listening is an art in itself. And we know that music consists in successions and forms of sound, and these alone constitute the subject. They again remind us of dancing and drumming, which likewise aim at beauty in form and motion and are also devoid of a definite subject. Regarding music, Hanslick said that "whatever be the effect of a piece of music on the individual mind, and howsoever it be interpreted, it has no subject beyond the combinations of notes we hear, for music speaks not only by means of sound, it speaks nothing but sound".

12. Ibid., p. 53.
13. Ibid., p. 64.

After Edward Hanslick, we find a systematic historical survey on æsthetic as well as on æsthetic of music by Bernard Bosanquet. Prof. Bosanquet said in the 'Preface' of his monumental book, *A History of Aesthetic* that "the æsthetic theorist desires to understand the artist, not in order to satisfy an intellectual interest of his own. Aesthetic means, he said, the Philosophy of the Beautiful.[14] All beauty is in perception or imagination. When we distinguish Nature from Art as a province of the beautiful, we do not mean to suggest that things have beauty independently of human perception. But if so, it is plain that 'nature' in this relation differs from 'art' principally in degree, both being in the medium of human perception or imagination, but the one consisting in the transient and ordinary presentation or idea of the average mind, the other in the fixed and heightened intuition of the genius which can record and interpret."[15]

We find that among the scientists the fundamental theory of the beautiful was connected with the notions of rhythm, symmetry, harmony of parts; in short, with the general formula of *unity in variety*, said Prof. Bosanquet. But when with the birth of modern world of romantic sense of beauty was awakened, further he said, accompanied by the craving for free and passionate expression, it became impossible that impartial theory should continue to consider that the beautiful was adequately explained as the regular and harmonious, or as the simple expression of *unity in variety*. The theory of sublime now makes its appearance, at first indeed outside the theory of the beautiful; but it is followed by the analysis of the ugly, which develops into a recognised branch of æsthetic inquiry, with the result of finally establishing both the ugly and the sublime within the general frontier of beauty.[16]

Herbert (1770-1841) and Schopenhauer (1788-1860) estimated the art of music as the beauty of the beautiful, though in some

14. Vide also Prof. Knight : *The Philosophy of the Beautiful.*

15. Vide *A History of Aesthetic* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1949), p. 3.

16. Ibid.

degree music is an objectification of the will, and in some degree beautiful. Ugliness appears to be merely defect manifestation or partial objectification of the will, and so, in agreement with what was said of beauty, would be merely relative. Schopenhauer's conception of music is mystical and sublime. He said that music is 'the quintessence of life and events, without any *likeness* to any of them', with the theory of Hanslick as modified by Lotze, according to which music embodies 'the general figures and dynamic element of occurrences', considered as carrying our feelings with them.[17] Schopenhauer was a great lover of music. In 1858, Wagner sent him a copy of *Der Ring der Nibelugen*, with a word in appreciation of Schopenhauer's philosophy of music. Schopenhauer maintained: "Music is by no means like the other arts, the copy of the Ideas', or essences of things, but it is 'the copy of the will itself'; it shows us the eternally moving, striving, wandering will, always at last returning to itself to begin its striving anew. 'This is why the effect of music is more powerful and penetrating than the other arts, for they speak only of shadows, while it speaks of the things itself'. Its differs too from the other arts because it effects our feelings directly, and not through the medium of ideas; it speaks so something subtler than the intellect. What symmetry is to the plastic arts, rhythm is to music, * * *."[18]

The senses of beauty, or æsthetic senses, were methodically explained by George Santayana in course of his lectures on *Aesthetics*, delivered at Harvard College from 1892 to 1895. He said that the sense of beauty has a more important place in life than æsthetic theory has over taken in philosophy. The plastic arts, with poetry and music, are the most conspicuous monuments of human interest, because they appeal only to

17. (a) Ibid., p. 367.
(b) Vide, Herbert's Classification of the Arts in *A History of Aesthetic*, pp. 371-372.

18. Vide Prof. Will Durant: *The Story of Philosophy* (The Pocket Library, New York), pp. 337-338.

contemplation, and yet to other subjects.[19] Prof. Santayana distinguished three distinct elements of æsthetics as well as three methods of approaching the subject : (1) The first is the exercise of the æsthetic faculty itself, the actual pronouncing of judgement and giving of praise, blame, and precept. There is not a matter of science, but of character, enthusiasm, niceness of perception, and fineness of emotion. (2) The second consists in the historical explanation of art as a part of anthropology and seeks to discover the conditions of art. (3) The third is psychological, and it deals with æsthetic judgements as phenomena of mind and products of mental evolution.

Prof. Santayana was of the opinion that beauty is a value, and it is not merely a perception of a matter of fact, but it is *an emotion, an affection of our volitional and appreciative nature.* As for example, when we seek pleasure in the beauty of music, we pay attention to the appreciative nature of the beauty of music. Because beauty is constituted by the objectification of pleasure to be appreciated, nay, it is pleasure objectified.

Now, how do we define æsthetic beauty in its truest sense? Prof. Santayana said that when we come in contact with a beautiful music, our "soul is stirred to its depths, and its hidden treasures are brought to the surface of consciousness. The imagination and the heart awake for the first time. All these new values crystalise about the objects then offered to the mind." Then the objects become perfect, and we are said to be in love. This love for the objects of beauty is really a *penetration* into the threshold of the objects, and it is known as the æsthetic activity with value.

Prof. Santayana further said that poets in the field of æsthetic beauty may be divided into two classes : the musicians and the psychologists. "The first are masters of significant language as harmony ; they know the notes to sound together and in succession ; they can produce, by the marshalling of

19. Vide *Introduction* of 'The Sense of Beauty' (Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1955), p. 3.

sounds and images by the fugue of passion and the snap of wit * * * *. The psychologist, on the other hand, gain their effect not by the intrinsic mastery of language, gain their effect not by it to things."[20]

While explaining *Expression*, Prof. Santayana said that beauty as we feel it, is something indescribable. What it is, or what it means, can never be said. Besides, the feeling of art or æsthetic activity knows nothing of composition nor contributions, but "it is an affection of the soul, a consciousness of joy and security, a pang, a dream, a pure pleasure. It suffuses an object without telling why; nor has it any need to ask the question. It justifies itself and the vision it gilds; nor is there any meaning in seeking for a cause of it, in this inward sense. Beauty exists for the same reason that the object which is beautiful, exists, or the world for the same reason that the object lies, or we that look upon both. It is an experience: there is nothing more to say about it."[21] "Beauty, therefore," he concluded, "seems to be the clearest manifestation of perception, and the best evidence of its possibility".

Dr. Earl of Listowel defined beauty in two distinct ways. He said that the word 'beauty' which conveys the sense of æsthetic is used: (a) 'sometimes in its popular meaning as equivalent to the entire domain of æsthetic experience, and (b) sometimes in its strict and scientific connotation of a particular æsthetic category, like the ugly, the tragic, the graceful, or the sublime'. He further said that "the word 'æsthetic' is invariably employed, not in its etymological sense as coextensive with the whole of feeling, but in the technical sense it has acquired in modern philosophy, as tantamount to the entire experience of the beautiful'."[22]

While explaining the theory of expression, Dr. Listowel discussed the theory of beauty, as advanced by two Oxford

20. Vide *The Sense of Beauty*, New York, pp. 104-105.

21. Ibid., p. 163.

22. Vide *A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Meseum Strat, 1933), pp. 11-12.

philosophers, E. F. Carritt and R. G. Collingwood. He was of the opinion that 'in spite of the plain man's opposition, the beautiful should be regarded, like the secondary qualities, as purely mental and subjective; the absence of any science of beauty, the variety of our opinions about it, its partial dependence on obvious secondary qualities, are *prima facie* arguments for putting it on the subjective side'. This view was maintained by Prof. Carritt. Similarly Dr. Listowel quoted the opinion of Prof. Collingwood who really professed allegiance to Croce. This opinion of Prof. Collingwood seems to be similar to the Indian thinkers who make the idea of beauty or æsthetic divine and transcended. Dr. Listowel said: "He (Prof. Collingwood) then tells us that art is 'imagination', or 'pure imagination', and that imagination is an 'activity' which is prior to the logical judgement; thus we find that art, as a spiritual activity, is the first of the five successive stages—artistic, religious, scientific, historical, and philosophical—in the development of man's spiritual life, and that its specific and characteristic feature is pure imagination."[23]

Dr. Listowel beautifully surveyed the whole range of theory of æsthetic both in objective and subjective ways. While discussing some æsthetic categories, he explained the sublime, the tragic, the comic, the beautiful and the ugly. The socalled æsthetic categories are the modifications of the æsthetic which represent certain important and distinct aspects of our experience of the beautiful. In fact, when an æsthetic experience brings as pure, pervading, unalloyed delight, without any trace of conflict, disharmony, or pain, we are entitled to call it an experience of beauty; this feeling of harmonious joy should not, however, be restricted to sensuous pleasure, but this pleasure should be unearthly and divine, said Dr. Listowel. So the art of beauty or æsthetic "is nothing more than 'intuition', the pre-conceptual stage of thought, and so entirely distinct from material reality, from the useful, from the plea-

23. Ibid., p. 16.

sant, from moral conduct, and from conceptual knowledge.[24] Now, it is a fact that art or beauty involves two activities, theory and practice, which correspond respectively *thinking* and *volition*. Practice or volition is also of two kinds : 'first, with the willing of particular ends, it is economic or useful, and later, with the willing of rational or general ends, it becomes truly moral', nay, it becomes truly spiritual.[25]

Mr. Susanne K. Langer, a prominent art-critic and philosopher beautifully discussed significance of music from different viewpoints. Her books, *Introduction to Symbolic Logic*, *Feeling and Form*, and especially *Philosophy in a New Key* have thrown some new lights to solve the problems of æsthetics, psychology and philosophy in music. "This is not to say", she said, "that music is the highest, the most expressive, or the most universal art. Sound is the *easiest* medium to use in a purely artistic way ; but to work in the safest medium is not at all the same thing as to achieve the highest aim."[26] Further she discussed that "music exhibits pure form not as an embellishment, but as its very essence, we can take it in its flower—for instance, German music from Bach to Beethoven—and have practically nothing but tonal structures before us ; no scene, no object, no fact. This is a great aid to our chosen preoccupation with form. There is no obvious literal content in our way. If the meaning of art belongs to the sensuous percept itself, apart from what it ostensibly represents, then such purely artistic meaning should be most accessible through musical works".[27]

24. Ibid., p. 17.
25. Cf. also,
    (1) Gilbert and Kuhn : *A History of Aesthetics* (New York).
    (2) Dr. L. A. Reid : *A Study in Aesthetics* (George Allen & Unwin).
    (3) C. J. Ducasse : *The Philosophy of Art.*
    (4) Prof. Elton : *Aesthetic and Language.* (George Allen & Unwin, London).
    (5) Melvin Rader : *Study of Aesthetics.*
26. Vide *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1951), p. 178.
27. Ibid.

She further said that the history of musical æsthetics is an eventful one, as intellectual histoires go, so it is unavoidable that a good many theories have to be weighed in considering it. In Kant's day, it hinged on the conception of the arts as cultural agencies, and concerned the place of music among these contributions to intellectual progress. The Darwinians of the later days sought the key to its importance in the origins. Herbert Spencer considered music as a science, and discussed the origin of music in a most scientific way. William James took music to be "a more incidental peculiarity of the nervous system, with no teleogical significance."[28] Helmholtz, Wundt, Stumpf, and other psychologists to whom the existence and persistence of music presented a problem, based their inquiries on the assumption that music was a form of *pleasurable sensation*, and tried to compound the value of musical compositions out of the 'pleasure-elements' of their tonal constituents. This gave rise to an æsthetic based on liking and disliking, a hunt for a sensationist definition of beauty, and a conception of art as the satisfaction of taste ; this type of art theory, which, of course, applies, without distinction to all the arts, is 'æsthetic' in the most literal sense,......[29]

So, whatever may be controversies regarding æsthetics or psychological contents of music, it is a fact that music of the artists becomes music, i.e. true music when its æsthetic and spiritual excellence find its way of expression through the medium of forms and textures, so as to commune with the ideas of both the artists and the audiences. Mr. Roger Fry was of the same opinion, though he expressed it in a different way. He said that 'an art-product with its harmony of hue and texture and colour is no other than an *idea* of the artist's mind.[30] Really the ideas of the artists find their expression

28. Vide *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II, p, 419.
29. Vide *Philosophy in a New Key* (1951), pp. 179-180.
30. Cf. *Vision and Design* (1925), p. 50.
Mr. Flaubert's opinion was similar to that of Mr. Roger Fry. Clive Bell's opinion should also be consulted.

in an objective way, having in them the emotional contents, and that objective expression is no other than the materialized form and texture, constituted out of the sweet and soothing vibrations of the sound. The emotive ideas and feelings are, therefore, the fountainhead, from which wells forth the art of music in the external world,—the subjective becomes the objective.

Indian Aesthetics :

In the *Śṛṅgāra-prakrāśa* Bhojarāja of Dhāra said,

श्रृङ्गारी चेति कबिः काव्ये जातम रसमयं जगत् ।
स एव चेद अश्रृङ्गारी नीरसम सर्बमेव तत् ।।

If the poet is possessed of *śṛṅgārī* (æsthetics), the whole universe is full of *rasa*, and if he is devoid of that æsthetic sense, then, indeed, everything of the universe seems dry and insipid. The *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* said :

रसो वै सः । रसं एव अयम लब्धा आनन्दी भवति । २।७

The Indian name of beauty, or the beautiful, is *ānandaṃ* which is accompanied by *sat* or existence, and *chit* or pure consciousness. In the *Rasaśāstra*, *sat*, *chit*, and *ānanda* are known as the determinate (*saguṇa*) Brahman, which is appreciated and realized in the ecstatic vision. *Rasa* or æsthetic sentiment is the medium for appreciation of the Supreme *Ānanda*, (*ānandaika rasaṃ*). In the *Nātyaśāstra*, Bharata defined *rasa* as that which can be relished by *charvanā* (chewing), or by repeated work of contemplation. From *rasa*, emotional attitude (*bhāva*) evolves. Besides *bhāva*, there are *vibhāva*, *sthāyībhāva*, *anubhāva*, *vyabhichārībhāva*, etc. The *sthāyībhāva* gives a permanent and lasting pleasure, and *vyabhichārībhāva* is a transitory and temporary mood, and the *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* are the intermediate ones. Bharata recognised *śṛṅgāra* as the prime (*ādi*) and best sentiment. *Śṛṅgāra* is possessed of *sthayībhāva* which helps the artists to appreciate the *rasa*, *śṛṅgāra*.

Now, the *sthāyībhāva* is an abiding dominant and permanent

sentiment, whereas the *vyabhichārī* one is transitory and impermanent. The *sthāyī* one is capable of maturing into relishable state (*āsvādyatā*). There are eight mental states to the category of lasting sentiments (*sthāyīnś*), and they are: (1) love (*rati*) which is appreciated by its different stages of *prema*, *sneha*, *māna*, *praṇaya*, and *rāga*; (2) *śoka*, (3) *krodha*, (4) *utsāha*, (5) *bhaya*, (6) *hāsa*, (7) *jugupsā*, and (8) *viṣmaya*. Mamata Bhatta and some others included *nirveda* or disinterested attitude as a *sthāyībhāva*. *Nirveda* is also known as *vairāgya*.

The mental attitude, *vibhāva*, is of two kinds, circumstantial and personal. The circumtantial attitude is said to be the *uddīpanā* or exciting ones, and the personal *vibhāva* is an indirect one and can be known as the *ālambana* one.

Bharata said that *rasa* is that which can be relished—'*rasyate iti rasaḥ*'. The relishment of *rasa* is known as a flavour, which creates ecstatic joy in the mind and leaves an impression of wonder (*chamatkāra*), and that is the source of uncommon delight or *lokottara-ānanda*. These are included into the category of *rasa-charvanā* i.e. relishment of *rasa*. The mental fusion is the result of the sentimental relishment (*rasāsvāda*).[31]

Regarding *rasa* and *dhvani*, it can be said that *rasa* is the soul or vital energy of music, poetry and drama, and *dhvani* or sound is the ideal mode of its evocation. Therefore it is understood that manifestation of *rasa* (*rasābhivyakti*) is always a *dhvani*. Śāraṅgadeva followed, in this respect, Bharata, and defined all kinds of *rasa* and *bhāva* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*.

Bharata said in the *Nātyaśāstra*:

न हि रसादृते कश्चिदप्यर्थः प्रवर्तते ।
विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्ररसनिष्पत्तिः ॥

That is, without *rasa* nothing is fruitful, and *rasa* is fully manifested with the help of *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhichārī-bhāva*. But what does the word *rasa* mean, and what kind of

31. Vide S. N. Shāstrī: *The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama*, Vol. I, (1961), pp. 258-259.

matter is *rasa*— 'रस इति कः पदार्थः ? To this, Bharata said : 'अत्रोच्यते आस्वाद्यत्वात् । कथमास्वाद्यो रसः ? * * यथा हि नानाव्यञ्जनसंस्कृतमन्नं भुञ्जानः रसानास्वादयति सुमनसः पुरुषः * *'32

That is, *rasa* is realized by the relishment or tasting. As the cooked rice (*annaṃ*) is relished with many cooked vegetables, so a man relishly tastes all pieces of art, literature, poetry and drama with the help of *sthāyībhāva*. Therefore *rasa* or emotional content is essential in all aspects of appreciation of art— 'तथा मूलं रसाः सर्वे तेषु व्यवस्थिताः ।'' Abhinavagupta elaborately explained the processes of manifestation of different *rasas* and *bhāvas* in his commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī*.

Music is not a meaningless exhibition of the texture of tones and tunes only, but is a means to penetrate into the core of the æsthetic feeling of the Divinity or the Wholly-Other. The *svaras*, *alaṁkāras*, *gamakas*, *sthāyas* (musical phrases) are the means to arousing the divine sentiments in the minds of the artists and audiences.

The *svaras* and the *rāgas* of Indian music create some sonic atmosphere for creating sentiments and moods. This creation is a method of uniting the physical and the psychic. It needs, therefore, a language as the symbol for a heart-to-heart talk or communication between two mental faculties.

Indian music has a basic note, tonic or *ṣaḍja*, which creates a fundamental sentiment for generating mood or moods. Almost all the melodies (*rāgas*) start from the tonic, so the tonic (*ṣaḍja*) is recognised as the basic note or tone which can be said to be the musical symbol of mental unity and tranquil peace.

The *rasa*-theory by Abhinavagupta is worth-mentioning. Bhatta-Nāyaka laid stress upon æsthetic experience in terms of predominance of *sattva*, but Abhinavagupta did not admit his view. Abhinavagupta said that an æsthetic experience is a transcendental one, and it cannot be explained in terms of any qualities like *sattva*, *rajas*, or *tamas*. It is above all qualities and is universal. It is the Self (Ātman) and is Ānandaṃ. So

32. Vide *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāśī Ed.), p. 71.

this blissful æsthetic experience or Ānandaṃ transcends the limitations of *kalā*, *vidyā*, *rāga*, *niyati* and *kāla*. Dr. K. C. Pandey was of the opinion that according to Abhinavagupta, æsthetic experience belongs to the second level of spiritual experience, which is known as the level of *śakti*, *vimarṣa* or *spanda* or *ānanda*. Abhinavagupta recognised five levels of experience which are *jāgrat* (waking), *svapna* (dream), *suṣupti* (deep sleep), *turīya* (transcendental) and *turīyātīta* (pure and spotless). Of these five levels of æsthetic experience, the last two, *turīya* and *turīyātīta*, belong to the universalised subject, and the first three, *jāgrat*, *svapna*, and *suṣupti*, belong to the individual subject.[33] Dhanañjaya also admitted that 'æsthetic experience consists in the realization of blissfulness of the universalised subject, affected by an universalised basic mental state and accompanied by a corresponding condition of heart'.[34]

This emotive nature of æsthetic experience is also emphasised by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha. Paṇḍitarāja stated in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* the view of Abhinavagupta, where he differed from him, and said that Abhinavagupta's æsthetic experience belongs to the level of *vyatīreka-turīyātīta*, in which all objectivity merges in the subconscious state and the subject, the Ātman, shines in its blissful state, which he does not accept.

What is *rasa* ? Abhinavagupta followed Bharata, and defined *rasa* as *rasyate iti rasaḥ*, because *rasa* is the basic mental state which is relished and, therefore, is *rasa*. Further he defined *rasa* as *niravacchinna svātma-parāmarśa*, *svātma-viśrānti*, and, therefore, *rasa* means the act of relishing—*rasanaṃ rasaḥ*.

Abhinavagupta discussed the problem of number of *rasa*. In this respect, he differed from Bharata and enumerated nine *rasas* including *śānta*. Bhānudatta also admitted nine *rasas* in his *Rasa-taraṅginī*, including *śānta* as the ninth one. He also mentioned four more *rasas*, *vātsalya*, *laulya*, *bhakti* and *kārpaṇya*. It seems that Abhinavagupta followed, in this respect, the

33. Vide *Comparative Aesthetics* : Vol. I, *Indian Aesthetics* (Baranasi, 1956), p. 112.

34. Ibid., p. 127.

later Ālaṁkārikas like Dhanañjaya, Bhānudatta and others. Among the nine *rasas*, the first four are the principal ones, and the rest are the subordinate ones. The first four *rasas* are principal, because they are the basic mental states. "Thus, *śṛṅgāra* has *rati* as its basic mental state, which leads to the attainment of *kāma* and, consequently, to *dharma* and *artha*; *raudra* springs from *krodha* and leads to *artha*; *vīra* is based upon *utsāha* and leads to *dharma* and *artha*; *śānta* is based upon *tattvajñāna* and leads to *mokṣa*...... As *harṣa* etc. do not independently lead to any *puruṣārtha*, but do so only as parts of *rati* etc., so they are recognised to be subordinate."[35] But interesting is this that Abhinavagupta admitted only eight *sthāyībhāvas* instead of nine. The permanent moods are mental and natural, and they reside in the emotional sentiments (*rasas*), so as to make them enjoyable and applicable to life.

Jīva-Gosvāmī wrote a monumental book, *Ujjvalanīlmaṇi* especially on Vaiṣṇava æsthetics, and has devoted fifteen illuminating chapters (*prakaraṇas*), of which the *śṛṅgāra-prakaraṇa* is the last and best one from viewpoint of *rasa*. His elaborate discussions on æsthetic sentiments and emotive moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*) have thrown sufficient light not only on the *Vaiṣṇava-rasa-paryāya*, but also on the æsthetic problem of Indian literature, poetry, music, dance, and drama. Regarding the main *rasa*, *madhura*, Jīva-Gosvāmī said :

मूख्यरसेषु पुराय: संक्षेपेणोदितोऽतिरहस्यत्वात् ।
पृथगेव भक्तिरसाट् स विस्तरेणोच्यते मधुरः ॥
वक्ष्यमाणैर्विभावाद्यैः स्वाद्यतां मधुरा रतिः ।
नीता भक्तिरसः प्रोक्तो मधुराख्यो मणीषिभिः ॥

—उज्ज्वलनीलमणि १/२-३

A glossary was added by Viṣṇudās Gosvāmī, a disciple of Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī, the renowned author of *Śrīchaitanya-Charitāmṛta*. Jīva Gosvāmī was of the opinion that among the five main *rasas*, *śānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and

35. Ibid, p. 173.

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madhura, the most important or superior *rasa* is *madhura*, and he gave the reason for its superiority in his *Bhaktirasāmṛta*. The characteristic of the *madhura-rasa* is that this *rasa*, known as *bhaktirasa*, is realized by *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *sāttvika*, *vyabhichārī*, etc. emotive moods.[36] This *madhura* or *bhakti-rasa* is also used in music, dance, and drama, as used to be applied in the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* by the female attendants of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, so as to dive deep into the estatic vision of *bhakti-sādhanā*. The contention of Jīva-Gosvāmī[37] is that music is also a best means to attain salvation, so music-practice should be directed to right and proper way so as to unfasten the chain of *saṁsāra*.

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha wrote a beautiful book on æsthetics, *Rasagaṅgādhara*, and Nāgeśa-bhatta wrote an illuminating glossary on it. Jagannātha's exposition is very critical and analytic.

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha was a *Tailiṅga* (Telegu) Brāhmiṇ of Veginād or Venginādu. At the end of his *Bhāminivilāsa*, Jagannātha said that 'during his middle age (*navīna-vayasa*) he enjoyed the benevolent patronage of the Delhi Emperor— "दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनः वयः"। V. A. Rāmasvāmī Śāstri wrote : "This Delhi Emperor or Emperors referred to might be either Jāhāṅgīr or his son Shāh Jāhān, or both, since Jagannātha eulogises both specifically."[38] Further Prof. Śāstrī said : "Most probably, therefore, Jagannātha had access to the Mughal Court at the time of Jāhāṅgīr and enjoyed his patronage and subsequently that the Shāh Jāhān and Dārā Shukoh. * * that he received the title of *Paṇḍitarāja* from Shāh Jāhān."[39] "Thus Jagannātha, a South Indian by birth, spent the best part of his life in North India and by his merit rose to the highest position open to authors at the Mughal Court."

However, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha wrote the book on æsthetics

36. Vide *Ujjvalanīlmaṇi* (edited by Haridās Dās, Navadvīp), p. 2.
37. It will be discussed afterwards.
38. Vide *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (Annāmālinagar, 1942), pp. 13-14.
39. Ibid., p. 15.

Rasagaṅgādhara, both in prose and poetry. Regarding *rasa*, Paṇḍitarāja said :

'एवं संक्षेपेण निरूपिता रसः। एषां प्राधान्ये ध्वनिव्यपदेशहेतुत्वम्, गुणीभावे तु रसालंकारत्वम्। * * रसालंकारव्यपदेशस्त्वलंकारध्वनिव्यपदेशवत्। * * अथ कथमेत एव रसः? भगवदालम्बनस्य रोमाञ्चाश्रुपातादिभिरनुभावितस्य हर्षादिभिः परिपोषितस्य भागवतादिपुराणश्रवणसमये भगवद्भक्तैरनुभूयमानस्य भक्तिरसस्य दुरपह्नवत्वात्। भगवदनुरागरूपा भक्तिश्चात्र स्थायिभावः। न चासौ शान्तरसेऽन्तर्भावमर्हति अनुरागस्य वैराग्यविरुद्धत्वात्। उच्यते—भक्तेर्देवादिविषयरतित्वेन भावान्तर्गततया रसानुपपत्तेः। * * न च तर्हि कामिनीविषयाया अपि रतेर्भावतमस्तु, रतित्वाविशेषत्। * * रसानां नवत्वगणना च मुनिवचननियन्त्रिता भज्येत * *।'[40]

Here we find that Paṇḍitrāja Jagannātha did not lay any stress on *śāntarasa*, as Abhinavagupta, Mammata, Ānandavardhana and others did. Paṇḍitarāja was of the opinion like Bharata of the *Nātyaśāstra* that when a devotee concentrates his mind on a deity with deep devotion, his very addiction to devotion is recognised as *rasa*, and that devotion is known as the permanent mood or *sthāyībhāva*. The *sthāyībhāva* is a sure means to attain to absorption into the core of everything divine and sublime. Further we find that when Paṇḍitarāja defined *rasa*, he said: 'निजस्वरूपानन्देन सह गोचरीक्रियमानः प्राग्निविष्टवासनारूपो रत्यादिरेव रसः।' He also used *ramaṇīyatā* : 'रमणीयता च लोकोत्तराह्लादजनकज्ञानगोचरता'। The word *ramaṇīyatā* is rarely used in the *Alaṁkāraśāstra* in the sense of *saundarya*, but Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha used the word *ramaṇīyatā* in the sense of beauty, and *ramaṇīyatā* rouses some transcendent joy and delight in the mind. "Thus", said Prof. A. C. Śāstrī, "a beautiful object rouses in the mind a feeling of beauty. This æsthetic enjoyment is nothing but the manifestation of our true self which is Bliss itself."

Prof. V. A. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī said that "according to Abhinavagupta, *rasa*-realization comes only to the *sāmājika*. Among those who have commented on Bharata's *rasasūtra* before Abhinavagupta, only Bhattanāyaka has explained how the *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, etc. in a *kāvya* expressed by *abhidhāyakatva-vyāpāra* are stripped of their individualistic aspects

40. Vide *Rasagaṅgādhara* (Kāvyamālā edition, Bombay, 1888), p. 45.

like *Śakuntalātva* and *Dusyantva* by the *bhāvakatva-vyāpāra* peculiar to a genuine *kāvya*."

We have discussed in short the *rasa*-theory, as explained by Abhinavagupta. "In the realization of *rasa* by *sāmājikas*, there is complete absorption (*chittaniṣpandatā*) which is a blissful condition. Here Abhinavagupta and his predecessor Bhattanāyaka and their followers follow the *Sāṅkhya* conception of *Kaivalya* which is described to be *complete cessation from all activities*. This negative aspect of bliss in *rasa*-realization solves very well the great problem in connection with the *karuṇa* sentiment (pathos)."

But, we have already discussed that Jagannātha Paṇḍit explained this problem of *rasa*-realization with reference to the *positive* aspect. "The soul is said to be, as the Vedāntins hold, eternal consciousness and supreme happiness in itself. Whatever is lovable, must be blissful and nobody can love a thing which is adverse to his soul........ The Ātman's very nature is 'bliss'—the *supreme consciousness*. Now when the mental impressions in the intensified and generalised *alaukika* form are presented to the soul, the veil of *āvaraṇa* is lifted up and the blissful Ātman is realized along with the realization of the *sthāyībhāva—rati*, *śoka*, etc. Just as a light, while lifted up from its cover, reveals itself and the objects nearby, so also the illumined Ātman, when His veil *avidyā* is lifted up, reveals Himself and the *sthāyībhāvas* in association with their *vibhāvas*, etc., in as much as they are the mental conditions (अन्तःकरणधर्माः) illumined by the inner *chaitanya*. Hence *rasa* is nothing but *sthāyībhāva* illumined by inner *chaitanya* when It is free from *āvaraṇa*; or *rasa* is nothing but the inner *chaitanya* free from *āvaraṇa* and delimited by *sthāyībhāvas* like *rati*. Of these, the former view belongs to Abhinavagupta and Mammatabhatta, while the latter is Jagannātha's own."[41]

We have discussed before that *śṛṅgāra* is the prime and causal sentiment, on which it is said, other sentiments depend.

41. Vide *Jagannātha Paṇḍita*, pp. 95-96.

But most of the later Ālaṁkārikas recognised *śānta* as the best sentiment. Prof. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī said that after dealing with the various interpretations of *rasa-sūtra*, Jagannātha established *śānta* as a separate *rasa* even in *nātya* on the authority of Bharata. Jagannātha also explained *sthāyībhāvas*, *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhichārībhāvas*.[42] And it is interesting to note that in the delineation of *rasa*, Paṇḍit Jagannātha took particular care not only in unifying opposed *rasas* in his *prabandha* but also in avoiding expression of *rasas* by their terms like *śṛṅgāra*. He also explained elaborately the *dhvanis* of the nine (and not eight) *rasas*, elucidating in detail the *bhāvadhvanis*, giving the definitions and suitable illustrations of the thirty-four *vyabhichārībhāvas*.[43]

Jagannātha said that *dhvanis* become *asaṁlakṣya-krama-dhvanis* under the conditions : (1) a clear context, (2) the easy understanding of *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas*, and *vyabhichārībhāvas* as described in the RG., and (3) the cultured *sahṛdaya*, who, as soon as he understands the *vāchārtha*, is led to the blissful realization of *rasa*, *bhāva*, or any other suggested idea. Paṇḍit Jagannātha discussed also the scope of *vyañjanā-vyāpāra* i.e. the power of suggestion, which is most vital feature both in poetry and music. Regarding it, Paṇḍit discussed three old (*prāchīna*) views.

Dr. S. K. De was of the opinion that Jagannātha's work displays an acute and independent treatment, or at least an attempt at a rethinking of the old problems. The charmingness belongs to an idea which causes unworldly or disinterested pleasure. This quality of disinterestedness is an essential characteristic, which is a fact of internal experience and which is an attributed of pleasure, being synonymous with *chamatkāra* or strikingness. The cause of this pleasure, said Jagannātha, is a conception or a species of representation, consisting of

42. Consult different *bhāvas* (moods) in Śāstrī's *Jagannātha Paṇḍita*, pp. 106-114.

43. Vide *Rasagaṅgādhara* (Poona ed.), pp. 79-98.

continued contemplation of something characterised by the pleasure itself.[44]

So it can be said that beautiful (*ramaṇīyatā*) in *music* like poetry is, therefore, that which gives us disinterested or impersonal pleasure and enjoyment of bliss (*ānanda*). We know that the poetic or musical sentiment (*rasa*) is peculiar in its nature, and it is, no doubt, a fact of one's own consciousness, but it is essentially universal and impersonal in nature, being common to all readers, artists and audiences, and possessing no significance to their personal relations or interests. The *rasa* in this sense is *alaukika* or supernormal. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha specially discussed *rasa* of poetry and not of music, but yet it can be said that being himself an expert composer as well as an exponent of classical music (because he was a court-poet as well as a court-musician of the Emperors Jāhāṅgīr and Sāhā Jāhān), so he used to admit the importance of creating sweet flavour and colour (i.e. *rasa-vastu*) in music and its compositions which were included in the concept of *dhvani* (suggested sense) and *saundarya* (beauty).

Hemchandra similarly said in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (I. 3); 'सद्यो रसास्वादजन्मा निरस्तवेद्यान्तरा ब्रह्मास्वादसदृशो प्रीतिरानन्दः' i.e. *ānanda* or divine delight arises immediately from the experience of *rasa*, and this experience is like that of bliss attendant upon the realization of the Brahman—*brahmāsvāda*. 'This *āsvādana* or experience is the pure consciousness itself' said Paṇḍit Bhūdeva. Pt. Bhūdeva said : 'रत्याद्यवच्छिन्नं चैतन्यं वा रसः।' In the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Madhusudana Sarasvatī regarded *rasa* as the transcendental consciousness (*chaitanya*) : 'रसो वै सः' i.e. God Himself is recognised as *rasa*.

44. Vide *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (2nd ed., 1960), Vol. II, p. 353. N.B. The sudents should consult here Dr. L. A. Reid's *Meaning in the Arts* (London, 1969), especially the chapter XIV, 'Revelation and the Aesthetic', pp. 245-263.

45. Vide *Rasagaṅgādhara* (Bombay), I.

46. Vide *Studies in Sanskrit Aesthetic* (P. Ghosh & Co., Calcutta, 1952), p. 1.

In music, dance and drama, æsthetic sentiment (*rasa*) is treated as a supreme *ānandarasa* or *bhaktirasa*, which takes a sincere Sādhaka to the prime state of the Bliss. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived as *Ānandarasaghana* which is appreciated in the æsthetic absorption.

Now both these essences, *premasvarūpa* and *ānandaghana-rasa* are required to be intimately appreciated. But what do we really mean by appreciation ? Edward Bullough said that whenever we actually and fully appreciate some beautiful thing, it becomes *ipso facto incomparable in point of beauty* with any other thing or work. "For intense appreciation implies *co ipso* the recognition of its uniqueness, of those distinctive qualities, which are its exclusive property, * * The more we appreciate it, the more we let ourselves be imbued with its spirit and enveloped by its peculiar atmosphere, the stronger do we realize its uniqueness and solitary perfection. Conversely, the more we realize a work as an individual entity, distinct from anything else, the more we may be said to appreciate it".[47] Real appreciation is no other than *realization*, and there remains no act of comparison in it, but it is unique and matchless. It is the realization of the Reality and Truth.

We have discussed before that Viśvanāth Kavirāja said that *rasa* is a mental state—a subjective experience of a man, of an artist, of an actor, or of a poet, in which enjoyment (*āsvādana*, *charvanā*, *rasanā* or *bhoga*) is essential, and in which the enjoyer and the object of enjoyment become identical, and *rasa* (sentiment) arises from an exaltation of the quality of *sattva* or goodness. We have discussed before in short that a new interpretation of *rasa* theory was forwarded by Rūpa Gosvāmī in the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* in terms of *ujjvala* or *madhura rasa*. *Madhura rasa* is a phase of *bhaktirasa* which conveys roughly five degrees of realization of devotion or faith, namely *śānta*

47. Vide *Aesthetics* (Bowes & Bowes, London, 1957), p. 46.

(tranquillity), *dāsya* (servitude, and also *prīti*), *sakhya* (friendship or equality), *vātsalya* (affection), and *mādhurya* (sweetness).

Rūpa Gosvāmī developed the ideas of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* along with *bhāvas*, *vibhāvas*, etc. In music, the *rāgas* and the *rāgiṇīs* have their *nāyakas* and *nāyikās*, the embodiments of masculine and faminine tempers or moods. The *rāgas* are constituted out of different tones, and it has been said before that the tones are saturated with different sentiments and moods, and, consequently, the *rāgas* and the *rāgiṇīs* are full of pathos, having different æsthetic patterns of *śṛṅgāra* or *śānta*, and other eight, or nine, or ten *rasas*. In music, an artist can infuse himself as well as the sympathetic audiences, so as to make music and its improvisations or reproductions fruitful and visible.

In conclusion, it can be said that *chittavṛttis* or moods in life are attended with their pleasures and pains and govern the daily actions of men. When an artist turns to them, he puts them into a pattern of his own making in his imagination, a pattern which never existed on earth. It is these patterned or organised mental states obeying a law of imagination that are called *bhāvas*. The process of imagination itself is *bhāvanā*. And it is tantamount to æsthetic sensibility......*bhāvanā* demands concentration (*dhyāna*) as it does in Yoga. This *bhāvanā* is a precondition of the dramatist, the actor and the spectator alike.[48]

Dr. Krishnamoorthy said that *rasa* is the very life of all artistic creation. The word *rasa* in the singular does mean æsthetic delight, but the word *rasa*, in the plural, can only refer to heightened *sthāyībhāvas* like *rati* and *utsāha* and are called by names of *śṛṅgāra*, *veera*, etc. The *rasa* in the singular connotes the undivided (*akhaṇḍa*) æsthetic enjoyment (*āsvāda*) in both the artist and the audience, and that enjoyment is of the nature of *viśrānti* or blissful repose. The plural expression *rasas* cannot refer to it as is often supposed. "These *rasas*

48. Vide Dr. Krishnamoorthy: *Some Thoughts on Indian Aesthetics and Literary Criticism* (Mysore, 1968), pp. 47-48.

are related to the æsthetic object or situation which is a compound of not only abiding psychic states (*sthāyībhāvas*) but also passing moods (*vyabhichārībhāvas*) and which points to their causes (*vibhāvas*) as well as consequents (*anubhāvas*).[49] In fact, *bhāva* is the feeling content actually embodied by the poet and the artist, whereas *rasa* is the culminating point. *Bhāva* is objective and *rasa* is subjective.

B

DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF AESTHETICS IN INDIAN MUSIC

We have discussed that in Vedic time, *sāmagānas* of different recensions (*śākhās*) were sung before the sacrificial fire and also on other sacred occasion. The *sāmagānas* were presented also in different ceremonial functions in the post-Vedic time. The *sāmagānas* were mainly possessed of five Vedic tones, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, etc., three registrars (*thānas*, *mandra*, *madhya* and *druta*), timing (*tāla* according to *kāla*), and different æsthetic sentiments (*rasas*). Some of the recensions (*śākhās*) used six and seven notes (from *prathama* to *atisvārya*, or from *prathama* to *kruṣta*). The *Kauthuma-śākhā* mainly used seven notes. Through the medium of æsthetic sentiments, the *sāmaga*-singers used to make their *gānas* sweet and pleasing.

It is a fact that both the letters (*varṇas*), vowel (*svara-varṇa*) and consonant (*vyañjana-varṇa*) were used in the *sāmagāna*, as they are now used in all kinds of *gāna*. The vowels are known as *rasakalātmaka*, i.e. generator of æsthetic sentiments, whereas the consonants are the mediums. The mediums are animated and intensified by the touch of the vowels. As for example, when we say *rāja-rāja*, we utter r - ā - ja - a - / r - ā - j - a, and the vowels 'a' between the consonants generates æsthetic senti-

49. Ibid., p. 52.

ments, from which evolve different moods or *bhāvas*. The vowels are, therefore, the vital energy (*prāṇa*) of the words and sentences. In the Vedic *sāmagāna*, the vowels ā, i, u, au etc. were used to originate temperament and taste i.e. power of appreciation of the *gānas*.

In the *Paurāṇika* age, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (the compiling date of which is approximately 400 B.C.), we find the use of æsthetic sentiments in the *gāndharva* type of the *jātigānas*. In the fourth chapter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find,

पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरं प्रमाणैस्त्रिभिरन्वितम् ।
रसैः शृगांरकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ॥

It has been explained before that the word *pāṭhya* connotes the idea of *gāna* with seven *jātis* or *jātirāgas*. The glossary, *Tilaka*, has mentioned :

"प्रमाणानि द्रुतमध्यविलम्बितानि। सप्तजातयः षड्जादयः सप्तस्वराः सप्तस्वरविशिष्ट-गानानुरोधीति यावत। वोरादीत्यादिना बीभतसाद्भुतशान्तसम्पदः शृगांरादिरसैश्चयुक्तं नवरसयोगीति यावत।"

In the glossary, *Bhuṣana*, it has been said about æsthetic sentiment :

"रसो नाम स्थायोभावरुपचित्तवृत्त्यभिव्यक्तिः स्थायोभावश्च नवबिधः।"

However, this glossary has given a detailed list and description of all the *rasas* and *bhāvas*.

These glossaries of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are of the later date, because, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, only eight *rasas* have been mentioned, and in the beginning of the Christian century, Bharata defined and described only eight *rasas*, as have been mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bharata said about the number of the *rasas* as :

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणरौद्रवोरभयानकाः ।
वीभत्सादभूतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ रसा स्मृताः ॥

But in the Kāvyamālā edition (published from Bombay, vide chapter VI. 78-83), it is found : "अथ शमोनाम शमस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः। * * एवं नवरसा दृष्टा" ॥ *Śama* is no other than *śānta-rasa*. In the commentary, *Abhinava-bhāratī*, Abhinavagupta said

that *śama* means *ātmasvabhāvaḥ* or *tattva-jñāna*. But in the *Saṁgraha-grantha*, *Brahmābharatam*, it has been mentioned : "एते ह्यष्टौ रसा प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।" Druhina is Brahmā or Brahmābharata.

The eight sentiments, as described by Bharata, are : (1) The erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) sentiment proceeds from the dominant state of love or *rati*, and it has its basis or soul a bright attire. It has two bases, union (*sambhoga*) and separation (*vipralambha*). (2) The comic (*hāsya*) sentiment has its basis the dominant emotion of laughter. This sentiment is of two kinds, self-centered and centered in others. (3) The pathetic (*karuṇa*) sentiment arises from the dominant state sorrow. (4) The furious (*rudra* or *raudra*) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of anger. (5) The heroic (*veera*) sentiment relates to the superior type of person and his energy as its basis. (6) The terrible (*bhayānaka*) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of fear. (7) The odious (*vibhatsa*) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of disgust. (8) The marvellous (*adbhūta*) sentiment has its basis the dominant state (*sthāyībhāva*) of astonishment.[50]

Similarly Bharata explained moods (*bhāvas*), corresponding to sentiments (*rasas*). In the seventh chapter (*Kāśī* ed.), Bharata said :

"अत्राह—भावा इति कस्मात ? किं भावयन्तीति भावाः ? उच्यते-वागङ्गसत्त्वौपेतान् काव्यार्थान भावयन्तीति भावाः। भाव इति कारणसाधनं यथा भावितो वासितः कृत इत्यर्थान्तरम् ।"

Now, what is *vibhāva* ? Bharata said : विभावो विज्ञानार्थः ।* * विभाव्यन्तेऽनेन वागाङ्गसत्त्वाभिनया इति विभावः ।

The *bhāvas* are eight, and it has already been discussed that they are permanent—*sthāyī*. The *vyabhichārī* (subordinate) *bhāvas* are thirty-three, and the *sāttvika-bhāvas* are eight in number. Bharata described the æsthetic sentiments (*rasas*) and the emotional moods (*bhāvas*) to be applied in the dramatic

50. (a) The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kaśī edition, Sanskrit).
(b) The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (English translation), published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1950) pp. 108-116.

plays; but they should be applied to music and poetry. The *rasas* and *bhāvas* bring life to music and poetry, and these *rasas* and *bhāvas* can be materialized and visualized, and our past masters saw them not only in their estatic vision, but also in material forms.

The renowned artist, Nandalal Bose of Śāntiniketan depicted those eight sentiments both by line-drawings and pictures, drawn by the request of the author.[51] The artist has shown how the sentiments can be represented by different line-pictures. As for example, the artist has represented the pathetic (*karuṇa*) sentiment by the line-picture of a lamented woman who has lost her only son. Owing to grief and deep sorrow, the head of the woman has nearly touched the breast. The picture suggests that the movement of the *rāgas* which express pathetic sentiment, should be represented by *madhyama* and *ṛṣabha*, or by *ṣadja* and *madhyama* and the like. In fact, the crooked movement (*vakra-gati*) of the notes, or the waving movements of the notes, or the *āndolita svaras*, *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* also express *karuṇa-rasa* along with *śāntarasa*, because the serene calmness of the mind together with the attitude of complete detachment (*nirveda* or *vairāgya*) also originate from deep sorrow and pangs of separation from the near and dear ones. In this way, the artist has depicted all other sentiments by different arrangements or movements of the lines and pictures.

In the *Vaiṣṇava-Rasaśāstra*, we find two more *rasas*, *mādhurya* and *vātsalya*. These *rasas* are the means or medium of generating *bhāvas* which create pleasure or *ānanda* in the mind.

In the *Śikṣā*, Nārada I, has mentioned about five basic microtones (*śrutis*), *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *mṛdu*, *madhyā* and *karuṇa*, which correspond to the microtones *tīvra*, *kumudvatī*, *mandā*, *chandovatī* and *dayāvatī*, developed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *post-Nāṭyaśāstra* music-literature. The five microtones are the causal ones, and from them twentytwo microtones evolved. The five causal microtones are surcharged with æsthetic sentiments

51. *Vide* S. Prajñānānanda : *Rāga-O-Rūpa*, Vol. II (Bengali).

(*rasas*), and the fact is proved by their names, *dīptā*, *āyatā*, *mṛdu*, *madhyā* and *karuṇa*. And as from the causal one's *dīptā*, *āyatā*, etc., the twentytwo microtones in the later date evolved, they were also impregnated with æsthetic sentiments.

In the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (13th-14th century), we find seven kinds of *kapālagītis*, and it has been mentioned before that they were sung with seven *śuddha-jātirāgas*, *ṣāḍjī*, *ārṣabhī* etc. They were known as the *brahmapadas*. The name *brahmapada* was given because they used to be sung in praise of the Lord Śiva—'*śivastuti*'. Śāraṅgadeva further said in the SR. that *aparāntaka*, *ullopya*, *madraka*, *prakari*, *auveṇaka*, *sarobindu* and *uttara*—these seven *gītis*, together with seven other *brahmapada* like *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *sāma*, *pāṇika* etc. which were also sung along with the *jātirāgas*, and they were used for generating pleasing æsthetic sentiments. Yājñavalkya has also mentioned about these fourteen gītis.[52]

In the *Nātyaśāstra*, Bharata mentioned that the seven notes like *ṣadja*, *ṛṣabha* etc. and also displaced or chromatic notes like *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, *dhaivata*, and *niṣāda* should be made impregnated with æsthetic sentiments. He said,

हास्यश्रृगांरयो कार्यौं स्वरौ मध्यमपञ्चमौ ।
पड़्जर्षभौ तथा चैब वीररौद्रादभूतेषु तु ॥
गान्धारश्च निषादश्च कर्तवौ करुणे रसे ।
धैबतश्चैब कर्तव्यो बीभतसे सभयानके ॥

That is, the notes, *madhyama* and *pañchama* (4th and 5th) should be presented with the *rasas*, *hāsya* and *śṛṅgāra*, the notes *ṣaḍja* and *ṛṣabha*, with *veera*, *raudra* and *adbhuta*, the notes, *gāndhāra* and *niṣāda*, with *karuṇa-rasa*, and the note, *dhaivata*, with the *rasa*, *vibhatsa*. Besides, while discussing on the *varṇas*, *ārohī*, *avarohī*, *sthāyī* and *sañchārī* in connection with *jātigāna*, Bharata said that the Vedic registrar-notes, *udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *kampita* are also known as the *varṇas*, because they help the *pāṭhya* or *gāna* to be enriched with the æsthetic sentiments.

52. *Vide* S. Prajñānānanda : *Bhāratīya Saṅgīter Itihās*, (Bengali), Vol. II (the detailed discussion), pp. 104-106, 226.

For this purpose six kinds of *alaṁkāra* were used—'*ṣaḍalaṁkāra-saṁyutamiti*'. These six *alaṁkāras* are,

उच्चो दीप्तश्च मन्द्रश्च नीचो द्रुतविलम्वितौ ।
पाठ्यसैते ह्यलण्डकाराः लक्षणञ्च निवोधतः ।।

The *alaṁkāras* were used along with the *kākus*. Now what is a *kāku* ? Śāraṅgadeva said : "काकुध्वनैर्विकारः" । Bhanuji-dīkṣit said that while expressing lamentation, fear, etc. *kāku* is used with some changes in sound, and by the changes of sound different kinds of emotional sentiment grow. Siṁhabhūpāla said while commenting on the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* that *kāku* produces softness, beauty, and different sentiments. Bharata explained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (19.57-58) that when *kāku* is used with slow tempo, it produces different *rasas*, *hāsya*, *śṛṅgāra*, and *karuṇa* ; when it is used with high tempo, it produces the *rasas*, *veera*, *raudra*, and *adbhuta*, and when its tempo is rapid, it produces *bhayānaka* and *vibhatsa rasas*. It is said in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vālmikī taught Kuśa and Lava these methods of producing the *kākus*. Now, how the *kākuś* produced in the registrars (*sthānaṣ*), circumflex (*mandra*), medium (*madhya*) and acute or high (*uchcha*), Bharata has said about them in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* :

उच्चा दीप्ता च कर्तव्या काकुस्तत्र प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
हास्सश्रृगांरकरुणोष्विष्टा काकुबिलम्बिता ।।
वीररौद्रादभुतेषूच्चा दीप्ता चापि प्रशास्यतो
भयानके सबीभत्से द्रता नीचा कीर्तिता ।
एवं भावरसोपेता काकुर्योज्या प्रयोक्तृभिः ।।[53]

That is, for the manifestation of the *rasas*, *hāsya* and *śṛṅgāra*, the medium (*madhya*) *alaṁkāra* was used ; for the manifestation of *karuṇa*, *vilamvita alaṁkāra* was used, and for the manifestation of the *rasas*, *veera*, *raudra*, *adbhuta*, *vībhatsa* and *bhayānaka*, rapid or *druta alaṁkāra* was used. As regards *kāku or svārochchāraṇa-kalā*, Abhinavagupta said in the *Abhinavabhāratī*:

53. *Vide Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāśī edition), Chapter IXX, pp. 57-58.

"विस्मयावगतौ तु सैव रसकाकुः, परस्य त्रासनाभिप्रायेण तु सैव बिभावकाकुः । * * दैन्ये काकुर्द्विजपीतामेति—स्वचित्तवृत्त्यर्पणाद्रसकाकुः, परस्य रूपोतपादनाद्विभावकाकुः ।"

That is, *rasa-kāku* and *vibhāva-kāku* were used to generate admiration and fear. Sometimes *rasa-kāku* used to be applied for generating æsthetic sense in oneself, and sometimes *vibhāva-kāku* used to be applied to others. In fact, æsthetic sentiment was recognised as the vital power to infuse vigour and strength in the process of intonation and singing.

In the *Nātyaśāstra*, we find that the *jātis* or *jātirāgas*, *prabandhas*, and the dramatic songs (*nātyagītis*) *dhruvās* were added with æsthetic sentiments before rendering them into singing. In the 29th chapter (Kāśī edition), Bharata described as to how the *jātirāgas* used to be saturated with different *rasas*. As for example, he has said,

षड्जोदीच्यवती चैव षड्जमध्या तथैव च ।
षड्जमध्यमबाहल्यात कार्यं शृगांरहास्ययो ॥

That is, *ṣadjodichyavatī*, *ṣaḍjamadhyā* etc. should be sung with the *rasas*, *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya*. Similarly *ārṣabhī*, *ṣāḍjī*, etc. should be presented with the *rasas*, *veera* and *adbhuta*. Further Bharata said,

ध्रुवाविधाने कर्तव्या जातिगाने प्रयत्नतः ।
रसं कार्यमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्याः प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥

That is, knowing well the method of application of the *rasas*, *jātigānas* amputed with *dhruvā*, should be rendered into singing. The whole 29th chapter has been devoted to similar description, because he said : "जातयो रससंश्रयाः" i.e. *jātis* or the causal *rāgas* are based on *rasas* or æsthetic sentiments. And while describing the sixtyfour dramatic songs, *dhruvās*, he said,

ध्रुवाणां चैव सर्वासां रसभावसमन्वितम् ।

And while describing the three aspects (*prakṛtis*) of the *dhruvās*, he has also said :

रसभावौ तु पूर्वोक्ता ऋतुः कालकृतस्तथा ।[54]

54. *Vide* the detailed description of the *rasas* in relation to *dhruvāgāna*—*Nātyaśāstra* (Kāśī ed.), 32 chapter.

Now, leaving aside the treatises, *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, *Saṅgītarāja*, when we read the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (thirteenth century) we find that in the second *rāgavivekādhyāya*, Śāraṅgadeva explained as to how the *grāmarāgas*, *ṣaḍjagrāma*, *śuddha-kaiśika*, *bhinna-kaiśīka-madhyama*, etc. were made into practice along with different æsthetic sentiments. He said,

(a) काकल्यन्तरसंयुक्तो वीरे रौद्रे द्दभुते रसे ।
गेयोद्दहः प्रथमे यामे षड्जग्रामाभिधो बुधैः ॥

(b) शुद्धकैशिकः—'वीररौद्राद्भुतरसः शिशिरे भौमवल्लभः ।'

(c) भिन्नकैशिकः—'प्रसन्नादियुते दानवीरे रौद्रे द्भुते रसे' ॥[55]

In the chapters on *Prakīrṇa* and *Prabandha*, we find also the uses of *rasas*, while producing *mārga* and *deśī-rāgas*, as well as different kinds of *Prabandha*. As for example, in the chapter on the *Prabandha* (IV. 167-169), Śāraṅgadeva has said :

हास्यश्रृगांरयोर्हंसः सिंहो वीरभयानके ।
विप्रलम्भे तु सारङ्गः शेखरः करुणे रसे ॥
सश्रृगांरे पुष्पसारः श्रृगांरे परिकीर्तितः ।
रौद्रे प्रचण्डो नन्दीशः शान्ते धीरैरुदीरितः ॥
गद्यजाः पद्यजागद्य-पद्यजा इति ते त्रिधा । Etc.

That is, the *sāhityas* of the *rāgas* were composed of prose, poetry, and also of prose and poetry combined, and when those *sāhityas* were mixed with the *mārga* and *deśī-rāgas*, they used to produce eight or nine *rasas*, which were the sources of pleasing sensation or *ānandaṃ*.

In the twelfth-thirteenth-century (1170-1250 A.D.), Sāradātanaya also discussed about æsthetic sentiments and moods (*rasas* and *bhāvaṣ*) is relation to music, dance and drama, for the use of theatre in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*. He said :

नृत्तं गीतञ्च वाद्यञ्च नाटकादुपकारकम् ।

Regarding origin of music, Sāradātanaya said that when the five winds (*vāyus*) and *prāṇa* are controlled by the mind, evoke the fire into the *dhātus* through the *dhamaṇī* (*nāḍīs*),

55. *Vide Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Chapter II.

nāda (causal sound) is produced by a combination of the above mentioned fire (*agni*) and *dhātu*. This *nāda* is that which is known as *svara* or tone. Different places of the *svaras* and the numbers of *śrutis* attached to the *svaras* are due to different situations of the *dhātus* and *dhamanis*. In this section, science of music has been treated, and Sāradātanaya followed principally the teachings and methods of the three authors, Bhoja, Abhinavagupta and Bharata in this respect.

Sāradātanaya belonged to the Kāshmere (Trika) School of Tantra. Regarding the theory of *rasa* or æsthetic sentiment, he followed Abhinavagupta, and said that *rasa* is the soul of poetry, and that *alaṁkāra*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, etc. only glorify the *kāvya* or poetry which is the combination of beautiful words and ideas. But it should be noted that Sāradātanaya did not agree with Abhinavagupta and on some occasions he differed from him. He criticised not only Abhinavagupta, but also other writers on dramaturgy while they discussed about *śānta-rasa*. It is said that Udbhata was the first writer who included *śānta* as one of the *rasas*. It was approved by Ānandavardhana. Abhinavagupta gave the *śāntarasa* a place of unique importance amongst different *rasas*. Again "Rudratā or Rudrabhatta not only accepted *śānta* as an important *rasa*, but included *preyas* also as a *rasa*, and boldly declared that the *vyabhichārī* and *sāttvika-bhāvas* such as *nirveda*, *harṣa*, etc. also, when properly developed, contribute to the pleasure in the same way as *śṛṅgāra* or *karuṇa*, therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional *rasas*. Sāradātanaya, who followed Dhanañjaya in this respect, condemned the views of all these thinkers and opined that *śāntarasa* cannot be enacted on the stage, for no *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *sāttvika* can be produced by the *sama*, the *sthāyībhāva* of the *śānta*. ...Being a firm believer in the theory of *rasa* as promulgated by Bharata, Sāradātanaya mainly developed the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*." (vide, Introduction, p. 15).

Sāradātanaya gave the origin of Indian music in brief. In

the seventh chapter of his *Bhāvaprakāśan*, he discussed *jātis* (*jātirāgas*) as the forerunner of different *rāgas*, together with *śrutis* and other essential materials of Indian music. Regarding æsthetic sentiment, he said that as *rasa* is essential for poetry, so it is for music. In the sixth chapter, he described the characteristics of different *rasas* which are applied in music, dance and drama. He said,

हास्याभिभूत श्रृङ्गारस्तदाभासो भविष्यति ।
हास्यो बीभत्समिलितो हास्याभास उदाहृतः ।।
वीरो भयानकाविष्टो वीराभास इतीरितः ।
वीभत् सकरुणाश्लेषद्‌द्भुताभास उच्यते ।।
रौद्रः शोकभयाविष्टो रौद्राभास इतीरितः ।
हास्यश्रृङ्गारखचितः करुणाभासः उच्यते ।।
वीभतसोद्दद्भुतश्रृङ्गारो वीभतसाभास उच्यते ।
रौद्रवीरानुषक्तश्चेदाभासः सद्भयानके ।।

(Pp. 132-133)

Sāradātanaya said that same *rasas* are intermixed with other *rasas* so as to create *rasābhāsa*, but when they are applied in music, dance and drama, the main *rasa* should be observed from them. He mainly dealt with *dhruvāgānas* like *prāveśiki*, *ākṣepikī*, etc. and *gāthā*, *ṛk*, *pānikā*, etc. for using in drama so as to create *rasa* or æsthetic beauty. He said,

ध्रुवाः पञ्च प्रयोक्तव्या रसाभिनयासिद्धये ।
प्रावेशिको तु प्रथमाद्वितीयाद्दक्षेपिकी स्मृताः ।। etc.

These *dhruvās* have been dealt with elaborately by Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. However, Sāradātanaya was of the opinion that music being the superior art to other ones, it should be handled carefully for producing æsthetic sentiments to rouse the vital energy that sleeps in the depth of the subconscious plane of the human beings.

Śrīkaṇṭha wrote *Rasakaumudī* in the 16th century A.D. (1596 A.D.) dealing with *gīta, vādya, and nṛtya* as well as with the theories of *rasa, bhāva, vibhāva, vyabhichārī-bhāva*, etc. Like Paṇḍit Somanāth of the *Rāgavibodha* (1609 A.D.), Śrīkaṇṭha classified the *rāgas* in detail, along with their characteristics

(*lakṣaṇas*) and contemplative compositions (*dhyānas*). He also described the *nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda* of the *rāgas* so as to point out how to reproduce the *rasa*-contents, along with the *bhāva-prakāśas* of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*. As for example, Śrīkaṇṭha described the *dhyāna* of the *rāgiṇī*, *saurāṣṭrikā* as,

उत्तुङ्गपीनस्तनलोलहारा कर्णोतपलालिध्वनिदत्तचित्ता ।
प्रियान्तिकं याति विलोलबाहुः सौराष्ट्रिका कुंकुमलिप्तगल्ला ॥

From this *dhyāna*, we know that the *rāgiṇī* is the *abhisārikā-nāyikā*. Similarly the *dhyāna* of the *rāgiṇī gurjarī* describes,

इन्दिररश्यामतनु सुकेशी पाटीरपत्रावलीचारुतलपा ।
श्रुतिस्वरव्यूहविभागरम्या तन्त्रीमुखान्मजुंलगुर्जरीयम् ॥

ro.n it we know that the *rāgiṇī* is *vāsakasajyā-nāyikā*.

In this way, while Śrīkaṇṭha described the *lakṣaṇas* together with *dhyāna-mantras*, of all the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, he mentioned about all *rasas* as described by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but he included *śāntarasa* instead of *śṛṅgāra*. He said about *śāntarasa* :

तादृकतारुण्यतुङ्गस्तनकलशापरीरम्भसम्भारदम्भम्,
रम्भास्तम्भोरुयुग्मां मदकलसमदिराघूर्णिताक्षीं विहाय ।
* * * *
धन्यास्ते वीतरागा ऋटिति गिरितटे पद्मनाभं भजन्ते ॥

The *śāntarasa* brings *vairāgya*, *ānanda* of *muktirasa*, as Paṇḍita-rāja Jagannātha suggested.

Like Paṇḍit Somanāth and others, Śrīkaṇṭha had shown that Indian traditional thought has postulated the power of *svaras* to suggest and to impart the æsthetic experience which is associated with the six seasons of the year, and this view is the basis of the seasonal *rāga*s, said Dr. Premalatā Śarmā, while editing the manuscript of the *Rasakaumidī*. Paṇḍit Śrikaṇṭha, therefore, described six seasons as *uddhipana-vībhāva* of *śṛṅgāra* :

ऋतुनां वर्णनं युक्त्या नबमे क्रियते क्रमात ।
ऋतबो बिबिधैर्भोगैरातन्वन्ति मुदं यतः ॥

There is also *ālambana-vibhāva* of *Ṣaḍṛtus* or six seasons.

Almost all the authors on music mentioned about the seasons of the year, so as to adjust the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* with the seasons so to originate the æsthetic rapture which is the vital energy of them. Now *Ṣaḍṛtu-varṇana* has been traditionally accepted as an indispensable part of a Mahākāvya. Dr. Premalatā Śarmā said that "it must be remembered that Śrīkaṇṭha could not be expected to have overcome the influence of his period...... He presents stray instances of poetic conceit and imagery in the conventional and stereotyped objects of description, flames of effective phrasing, streaks of lifelike depiction, charm of simple diction and an artistic sense of the consonance and condence of syllables lending melodious musicality to his poetry".

Now, if we critically study the pre-*Nāṭyaśāstra* and the post-*Nāṭyaśāstra* as well as the *Ratnākara* and post-*Ratnākara* works, together with the works of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, Govinda Dīkṣit and Veṅkatamakhī, we find that all types of *gāna* and *gīti* used to be sung for producing different *rasas* and *bhāvas* so as to make music of India living and inspiring. It has been said before that æsthetic contents are the soul or life-force of music, and without them lusture (*lāvaṇya*) and beauty (*saundarya*) in the *gānas*, *gītis*, and *rāgas* appear as meaningless and aimless, which Indian viewpoint deplores and condemns.

Idea of Rasa in Greek Music

We find that like the *rasa* theory of India, the Greek theory of ethics was also attached to the music of Greece. Plato mentioned in the *Republic* that the Mixed Lydian, Hyperlydian, Dorian, and Phrygian modes used to express different æsthetic or emotional sentiments like sorrow, pleasure, bravity, melancholy etc. After a close and comparative study it is found that the ancient Greek modes or scales were similar in nature to Indian modes or scales. As for example, the

Greecian mode Dorian was similar to the Carnatic *Kharaharapriyā-mela*, etc. :

(a) D E F G A B C′ D′ — Dorian
Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa′ Ri′ — Kharaharapriyā

(b) E F G A B C′ D′ E′ — Phrygian
Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa′ Ri′ Ga′ — Hanumantoḍī (South)
Bhairavī-(North)

(c) F G A B C′ D′ E′ F′ — Mixo-Lydian
Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa′ Ri′ Ga′ Ma′ — Kalyāṇī

(d) G A B C′ D′ E′ F′ G′ — Hypo-Lydian (Plagal)
Pa Dha Ni Sa′ Ri′ Ga′ Ma′ Pa′ — Harikāmbodī

(e) A B C′ D′ E′ F G A — Hypo-Dorian (Aeolian)
Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha — Nata-Bhairavī (South)
Āśāvarī (North)

We have seen that the Indian *melas* are always surcharged with different æsthetic sentiments and moods originated from them. Therefore, it will not be difficult to conclude that the corresponding ancient Greecian modes were also of the similar nature.

In India, the *Bhajans*, *Padāvalī-Kīrtanas* (of Bengal), and *Kritis* (of South-India) and different folk-songs of different parts of India are full of emotional contents, as they appeal to the core of the hearts of all living beings. We have seen that the characteristic of a *rāga* is to tinge the hearts of all living beings with the colour of its own—*'rañjayati iti rāgaḥ'*. So all the materials, associated and assimilated with the *rāgas*, are full of emotional sentiments (*rasas*) and moods (*bhāvas*) that create pleasing and peaceful sensations or feelings in the hearts of all living beings.

Utility of the Aesthetic in Music

It may be asked as to what is the utility of the study of æsthetics of music. From the writings of both the thinkers of the East and the West, we know that æsthetic means the beauty, or the Beautiful, which pervades and saturates the whole Nature. It is the life or vital energy of music and poetry, and without the experience of the æsthetic, study and culture of music and poetry will be baseless and barren.

Really æsthetic sentiment (*rasa*) is the cream or extract (*niryās*) of music, and study and culture of music help the artists to find out that extract and to delightfully relish it and also to get into it, to be one with it. It should be remembered that a deepest experience or truest relishment of æsthetic sentiment of music is no other than *Ānandam* itself, that unfastens the chain of delusion of the artists. Madhūsudan Sarasvatī (early 16th century) beautifully discussed the intrinsic nature as well as the prime aim of the æsthetic feeling (*rasānubhūti*) in his *Bhaktirasāyaṇa*. In the third chapter of the *Bhaktirasāyaṇa*, he raised a question as to what is *rasa*: '*nānu ko'yam raso nāma* ?', etc. and said,

> Nityam sukhamabhivyaktaṃ 'raso vai saḥ' iti śrute /
> Pratītiḥ svaprakāśasya nirvikalpa-sukhātmikā //

The word '*nirvikalpa*' connotes the idea of 'purity' or pure delightful relishment, because, in the next aphorism, he said: "*paramānanda ātmaiva rasa iti*", and while explaining the text '*raso vai saḥ*', the commentator said: '*ataeva brahmāsvāda-sahodaramityāchakṣate sudhirāḥ*'. So *rasa* or æsthetic sentiment is no other than the divine *feeling* of the Brahman-knowledge —*brahmāsvāda-sahodaraḥ*'. Paṇḍit Viśvanātha Kavirāja also mentioned this sweet word '*brahmāsvāda-sahodaraḥ*' in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* III.35 In the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Lochana* (II.4), the words '*parabrahmāsvāda-sachivaḥ*' happen, which are equivalent to the word *rasasvādaḥ*. Sometimes mark of difference is drawn between these words, *brahmasvāda* and *rasasvāda*—Truth and Beauty, as 'Truth relates to transcendental Existence and Beauty to the Archotypal world'. Dr. S. K. De discussed this matter

and said : "The *brahmāsvāda* is likened to the *rasasvāda*, because in both cases the intimate realization comes after the limitation of the ego-centric attitudes are transcended, and all separate existence is merged in the unity or harmony realized."[56]

Now to conclude, it can be said that while dealing with the problems of Indian æsthetics, some are inclined to leave aside the problems of Western æsthetics, and *vice versa*, but discussion on æsthetics should always be comparative, as comparative knowledge is the surest guide to lead all to the abode of bliss and supreme silence. Sometimes it is believed that Indian *Rasaśāstras* are superior to those of the Western countries, but that is not also correct, as the intuitive savants of both the lands have penetrated the core of the deep æsthetic feeling, and so all the works on æsthetics of both the countries should be studied, followed, and be applied to our practical use, so as to know the real significace of Art and Beauty.

56. Vide *Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetic*, Vol. II, p. 117.

Appendix I

COMBINATIONS OF SOUND — 'MUSIC'

[Let me quote some portions (pp. 233 to 237) from Dr. Alexander Bain's THE EMOTIONS AND THE WILL (Third Edition, London, 1988), Chapter XIV, which deal with 'The Aesthetic of Emotions' for the students of psychology and aesthetics of music.]

"On the sensations of Hearing, is based the large department of Art named Music, vocal and instrumental, together with the pleasurable effect of Speech, considered as Sound.

I have alluded to the elementary sensations of agreeable sound, which, as now demonstrated, especially by the researches of Helmholtz, are found to include harmony. Since a sweet note is already a harmony, the influence of the recognized musical concords is not something absolutely new, but an extension of the same harmonizing process. Hence, we now regard the simple harmonies and melodic sequences as sense effects; the operation of intellect coming in at a farther stage. To an ear of average susceptibility, these primary effects are highly pleasing; and musical composition contrives to yield them in variety and abundance, while contributing intellectual charms in addition. The ultimate foundation of the agreeableness of the elementary sounds is too subtle to be assigned. All normal sensation, in due alteration and degree, is pleasurable; and, when combination adds to the pleasure, the only explanation to be offered consists in assuming a mutual support or concurrence, which increases the consciousness without increasing the nervous waste. We find that regularity is an essential condition of agreeable sensation; and the musical note is made up of a succession of beats that are equal in time. When several notes are conjoined in harmony, there is still the regularity of recurrence, with the

increase of the stimulation. The simple numerical ratios (2/1, 3/2, 4/3 etc.), express the best chords, and, as the ratios are farther removed from simplicity, the harmonious effect gives place to discord, which is at last painful.

The second stage of musical effect arises by bringing into play the intellectual delight of Unity in Variety. This is termed by James Sully the beauty of musical form. 'Contrast and symmetry, variety and unity, are common to all kinds of beautiful objects, whether natural or artistic. The development of music may, indeed, be regarded as a gradual expansion of musical form. Without doubt, the progress of the art has added distinct sensations of tone and harmony, notably by the enlargement of the whole scale by the invention of instruments of widely different timbre, and by the introduction of many new elements of harmony and melody. But in a yet larger measure, all successive invention has aimed at a higher beauty of structure, at some new mode of combining musical elements which may supply a larger delight through the conscious appreciation of the like in the diversified'.

In his very subtle and original analysis, Mr. Sully[57] traces at the attribute of unity in variety through all the various guises assumed in a musical compositions. First and most conspicuous, as a means of unity, is Time. To make a sequence of tones all equal in time, gives the simplest impression of unity in variety. Next is a sequence where the tones are alternated with their sub-divisions—a semibreve with two crotchets, and so on. This is carried up to the Foot or Bar, which confers of music its distinguishing rhythmic character, as triple, quadruple, etc. Next, and in close connection with time, Emphasis or Accent. But the quality that gives widest scope for intellectual effects is the proper musical element of Pitch or Height of tone. Definite pitch leads to definite musical Intervals, or the movements up and down the scale. These intervals have in the first place the effect of simple melody,

57. Cf. James Sully : *Outlines of Psychology* (6th ed., London, 1889).

but in their symmetrical groupings they give room for the added effects of unity in variety. As an example, we may have 'the recurrence of a melodic interval or series, in precisely the same order, an element of variety being supplied by the introduction of subordinate and ornamental notes'. Another form is presented 'when a given movement is transported into another region of tone, by the selection of a new initial note related to the first'.

Finally, from Harmony is obtained a great extension of musical form. When the mind is capable of discriminating definite shades of harmony, it is prepared for new contrasts and transitions, and consequently for new forms of unity in variety. A change from pure harmony to disturbing discord constitutes the strongest form of musical contract, while sequences of chords of similar harmonic character manifest a certain æsthetic unity.

The third and last power of music is derived from expres-
sion, or the reflex of the human emotions. Music is not
imitative, like painting and sculpture; it does not refer us to
the visible world. But it imitates the tones of the human
voice, which are the most flexible and expressive signs of
human feeling. We have acquired in our life-time innumerable
associations between tones and emotions; and there may be,
if Evolution be granted, ancestral associations that precede
our wakening into living consciousness. Any sounds, however
arising, that approximate to these suggestive tones, and
sequences of tone, become the means of awakening the feelings
themselves. Among the points of direct resemblance between
music and natural vocal sounds, are—pitch of tone, intensity
or emphasis, timbre, change of pitch or interval, greater or
smaller, and duration and rapidity of tone. As indirect
resemblance, we may include the fact that happy and peaceful
expression would tend to fall into forms agreeable to the ear.

Music is capable of representing emotional strength or intensity. A powerful passion is shadowed forth by the energetic elements of tone—emphasis, rapidity, range of inter-

val and duration. Again the difference between pleasure and pain can be dimly expressed through the indirect associations of melody and harmony. When energy of will, rather than emotion, is to be expressed, the musician resorts to increase of accent and heightening of pitch, followed by abruptness of termination. When a series of tones is effectual in stimulating human passions and energies, by a natural illusion, it suggests a living soul behind, partly revealed and partly mysterious, with which we enter into a kind of sympathy. Still farther, from our habit of recognizing sounds as emanating from the visible world, we are carried by their means to visible objects and activities. In this way we are led to conceive a hurricane, a battle, or impressive natural scene ; hence such compositions as Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*.

The limitations of these various powers, through the necessities of musical form, bring out the conflicting aims of the composer.[58]

58. "I would refer to Mr. Sully's three essays on Music (*Sensation and Intuition*, pp. 163-245) for the full expansion and illustration of these topics. I have merely picked out a few of his leading ideas, to enable the reader to perceive the draft of the examinations"—Alexander Bain.

Appendix II

BEAUTIFUL IN ART

[*While dealing with 'THE METAPHYSICS OF THE BEAUTIFUL' in his book, "THE ELEMENT OF METAPHYSICS" (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1909), Dr. Paul Deussen discussed about 'Some Remarks on the Beautiful in Art', pp. 194-220*]

"Art and Metaphysics are near akin. These two and (besides morality) these alone rise above empirical existence and its petty interests. Both dwell in the contemplation of Being-in-itself, which by metaphysics is apprehended in concepts and by art in immediate intuition. For the artist looks through nature to that which is behind it, and which, though imperfectly, appears in it. This, the thing-in-itself, the Will, he seizes intuitively in its phenomenal forms, the ideas. He "tears it out of nature" (as Albrecht Durer says), and portrays it isolated in the work of art, the task of which is always, to make visible an idea (not a concept), in giving it, from a particular point of view, pure and unimpeded development. To this it is due that poetry is not only, as Aristotle says, more philosophical than history, but that art in general is more instructive than reality. For while we see the Ideas in nature broken up in space, time, and causality, and thus only through the mist of objective and subjective contingencies, the artist removes this mist, so that the true Being of things becomes perceptible, in the interpreting mirror of art, even to the duller eye. To gain this the voluntary perception of the Idea, in which alone all beauty lies, the artist makes use of certain allurements (*lenocinia*) which flatter the senses and captivate the interest. Such are : beauty of colour in painting, that of tone in music, rhyme and metre, interesting actions and exciting complications in poetry. Spurious art plays with

these means, without having anything to impart to us by them. The genuine artist uses them alone for setting in relief (as a picture by the frame) the Idea the presentation of which is the sole aim of every art. Architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music (which, as we shall see, goes yet deeper) serve this end, each in its own way......

MUSIC is, as the name implies, the work of the Muses, the art........, and indeed the whole drift of our inquiry leads us to recognise in it the summit of all art, because the most immediate expression of Being-in-itself at which all art aims. This dignity is assured to it not only by the incomparable expressiveness of its language but also by the importance of what it imparts to us by it. That which speaks to us in the sounds of music, is as has long been recognised and often repeated, the feelings, the affections and passions of the human heart. Now these are nothing but the Will mirroring itself from within in the intellect, that Will which, as we know, is the thing-in-itself, the principle of all being. Music, therefore, in portraying the world of feelings of the soul, discloses at the same time the inner being of all nature. For that which, in the immediate light of knowledge, flows and surges in us as emotion, freeing itself from the soul in sighs, words, and tones, and forming itself into an objective and relief-giving image— that it is which sighs and vibrates as unconscious suffering, as unfelt feeling in all sounds and tones of creation. For that which roars in the thunder, murmurs in the water, groans in the axle of the wheel, whispers in the leaves of the tree, howls as wolf and coos as dove, is nothing but the one Will to life animating us also : *"aitad-ātmyaṃ idaṃ sarvam, tat satyaṃ, sa ātmā, tat tvaṃ asi, Cvetaketo !"*—"Of the essence of that is this universe, that is the Real, that is the Soul, that art thou, O Cvetaketu !" (*Cchāndogya-Upaniṣad*, vi. 8-16).

Two ways lead to the knowledge of Being-in-itself, that is Will : the external way of cognition and the internal way of feeling. All other arts take the outer way, in seizing and potraying the Will in its perceptual forms, the Ideas. Even

poetry, to which the inner world is opened, can only impart what it sees there indirectly by means of cognition through concepts. Music alone sets the Ideas and the whole perceptual world aside, to take its way through the ear, past the intellect, immediately to the heart, to unfold, as an objective spectacle, its revelations directly in the feelng of the hearer, though without any suffering on his part ; and again and again we wonder how this way of looking immediately and yet objectively at Being-in-itself became possible to us.

The sole theme of music is the Will in all its joy and all its sorrow. Accordingly it is pure weal and woe which speak to us in the flattering accents and the deep pathos of its sounds ; whether they reproduce in short merry melodies the joyous aspiration and speedy satisfaction of the Will, the soaring of hope, the fiery striving, the rejoicings of victory and festive mirth ; or whether, in melancholy sounds, deviating from the keynote and winding through varied intricacies and painful dissonances, they become an image of pain, now raging in frantic fury, now creeping along the gnawing, slow-consuming craving, or seeing in desolate and utter despair all hope of life vanish, till at last, in the return to the keynote, the greatest heartache finds rest, though it be but that of the grave.

The fundamental character of willing, by the portrayal of which music discloses the depths of the human heart and with these the inmost being of the world, consists, in small things as in great, in the Will being of the now at variance, now reconciled with surrounding circumstances. Let us try to understand how this alternate disunion and reconciliation of the mind with the world is portrayed by music through its agents, melody, and rhythm, harmony. The soul of a musical piece is the melody, in which is easily recognised the rising and falling of willing, intensity of which is expressed in the dynamics of the sound. Now in empirical existence there are two elements opposed to the will with which it must reckon and struggle, in the concord of which it consists all satisfaction, out of the resistance of which to the wishes of the heart springs all pain,

These elements are on the one side the order of the universe in space, time, and causality given *a priori*, on the other those inorganic and organic forces of nature, added *a posteriori*, which are akin to the Will and share the field with it, now favouring and furthering its efforts, now resisting it and preparing struggle and distress. Similarly in music there is opposed to that sequence of sounds which we call melody on the one side rhythm with its *a priori* regularity, which drives the melody striving after the repose of the keynote ever farther, allowing it no rest till the tonica, or at least a harmonic interval coincides with the accent of the rhythm. On the other hand we have harmony, akin in its nature to melody, which it accompanies in its course as the surrounding forces of nature accompany the Will, now furthering, now hindering it. To complete the parallelism, we have in the dissonances, in their painful expression allowing of no rest, a self-evident objective picture of unsurmounted hindrances and unsatisfied strivings. The consonances, on the other hand, paint that harmony of human willing with the surrounding and accompanying powers of the external world, on which in fact all satisfaction depends.

* * * * *

So we see music, so all art engaged in unveiling and interpreting the innermost being of this whole world. Yet it is always this world alone of which art tells us in all its forms, words, and sounds. Beyond it no artist is borne by the flight of his fancy, from it even a Dante and a Milton must borrow all colours for their pictures. True, it is not things themselves but the Ideas of things which the artist portrays. But what separates the things of this world from their Ideas, is only their empirical reality, their existence in causality, space, and time, with the consequences of such an existence. From these hindrances, originating in our own intellect, the artistic genius sets things free. By this not so much the contemplated object is changed as the method of its contemplation and through

this the contemplator himself. How the phenomenon of the beautiful is explained by processes within us, by the deliverance of the beholder from himself, Schopenhauer has taught us, but it was known also before him.''

Appendix III

FINE ART AND BEAUTY

We generally use the word 'beauty' by the name of 'fine art'. "This terminology", said Prof. R. G. Collingwood, "implies that there is a genus art, divided into two species, the 'useful arts' and the 'fine arts'. The 'useful arts' are crafts like metallurgy, weaving, pottery, and so forth ;...... Happily, the term 'fine art', excepting a few archaic phrases, is obsolete,.........[59]

The phrase 'fine art' further implies, said Prof. Collingwood, that the bodily or perceptible work of art has a peculiarity distinguishing it from the products of useful art, viz. 'beauty'. "This is a conception which has become very much distorted in the course of many centuries' speculation on æsthetic theory, and we must try to get it straight".

This word 'fine art' does not belong to the English language as such, but to common speech of European civilization. "If we go back to the Greek, we find that there is no connection at all between beauty and art. Plato has a lot to say about beauty...... The beauty of anything is, for him, that in it which compels us to admire and desire it .....the proper object of 'love'. The theory of beauty is thus, in Plato, connected not with the theory of poetry or any other art, but primarily with the theory of sense love, secondly with the theory of morals..... To call a thing beautiful in Greek, whether ordinary or philosophical Greek, is simply to call it admirable or excellent or desirable." In modern times, said Prof. Collingwood, there has been a determined attempt on the part of æsthetic theorists to monopolize the word and make it stand for that quality in things in virtue of which when we contem-

59. Vide *The Principles of Art* (Oxford, 1939), p. 36.

plate them we enjoy that we recognize as an æsthetic experience. "Modern æstheticians who want to connect the idea of 'beauty' with the idea of 'art' will say to all this either that the word is 'correctly' used when it is used in connection with æsthetic experience and 'incorrectly' on other occasions, or that it is 'ambiguous' having both an æsthetic use and non-æsthetic. Neither position is tenable."[60]

The æsthetic experience, said Prof. Collingwood, is an autonomous activity. It arises from within, it is not a specific reaction to a stimulus proceeding from a specific type of external object ..... For to say that beauty is subjective means that the æsthetic experiences which we enjoy in connection with certain things, arise not from any quality that they possess ......but from our own æsthetic activity. So Prof. Collingwood summed up his discussion on this point that "æsthetic theory is the theory not of 'beauty' but of 'art'. The theory of beauty, if instead of being brought (as it rightly was by Plato) unto connection with the theory of love it is brought into connection with æsthetic theory, is merely an attempt to construct an æsthetic on a 'realistic' basis, that is, to explain away the æsthetic activity by appeal to a supposed quality of things with which, in that experience, we are in contact ; this supposed quality, invented to explain the activity, being in fact nothing but the activity itself, falsely located not in the agent but in his external world".[61]

Herbert Read also discussed both 'art' and 'beauty'. He said that "the simple word 'art' is most usually associated with those arts which we distinguish as 'plastic' or 'visual' but properly speaking, it should include the arts of literature and music" as Schopenhauer first said that "all arts aspire to the condition of music."

But most of misconceptions of art, said Herbert Read, "arise from a lack of consistency in the use of the words art and beauty. ......We always assume that all that is beautiful,

60. Vide *The Principles of Art* (Oxford, 1939), p. 40.

61. Ibid, p. 41.

is art, or that all art is beautiful, that what is not beautiful, is not art, and that ugliness is the negation of art. This identification of art and beauty is at the bottom of all our difficulties in the appreciation of art...... For art is not necessarily beauty ; that cannot be said too often or too bluntly. Whether we look at the problem historically..... or sociologically....., we find that art often has been or often is a thing of no beauty."[62] Beauty, he said, is generally and most simply defined as that which gives pleasure, and art is most simply and most usually defined as an attempt to create pleasing forms. Such forms satisfy our sense of beauty and the sense of beauty is satisfied when we are able to appreciate a unity or harmony of formal relations among our sense-perceptions, which is generally known as æsthetic experience.

However, æsthetic experience or artistic activity is the experience of expressing one's emotions and that which expresses them is the total imaginative called indifferently language or art, and this is art proper, and most of the modern æstheticians like Hanslick, Croce, Gentile, and others used sometimes the word 'art' in the sense of 'beauty'. In fact, expression of supernatural beauty that generates joy and delight which cannot generally be expressed by language or speech, but can be felt as an experience.

62. a) Vide *The Meaning of Art* (Penguine Books, 1963), p. 17.
b) Consult in this connection *The Philosophy of Art* by Hegel.

Appendix IV

[*Some of the Kaviguru Rabindranath Tagore's comments on 'AESTHETICS OF INDIAN MUSIC' are remarkable*]

I. "When in India Music was a living tradition, the amount of attention it gave to *bhāva* or expression, was something remarkable. I do not know of any other country which gave as much attention to this aspect. How great the emphasis must have been is borne out by the fact that our Ragas and Raginis were composed with the idea of expressing the mood of the different hours of the day or even the different seasons of the year. There used to be also pictorial exposition of the bhavas which our Ragas and Raginis were supposed to depict."

II. "It is ture that both the hours of the day—morning and evening—call for soft notes. In the same way as morning opens its eyes slowly and gradually, the evening closes its eyes slowly and gradually. That is why soft notes and semitones which tend to merge into one another slowly and gradually, are so necessary to reveal the spirit of the twilight. But, there should yet be a difference between the melodic patterns : while the morning raga must gradually unfold to a crescendo, the evening melody must gradually fade into a demi-nuendo. This contrast is to be seen between *Bhāiroṅ* and *Puravī*."

III. "I am greatly enamoured of this "inwardness" of our classical music. It is this that makes it distinct, and endows it with a character different from other types of musical expression. We have in this country raginis

appropriate for all the hours of the day and for the varied seasons of the year. I am not certain whether every one will feel equally impressed by their appositeness in every particular instance... .. Be that as it may, there is a music that rings from season to season, age to age, always new and perennially fresh, in the salon of the inner chambers where the Lord of the World relaxes by Himself. Our mætros appear to have listened to this music with the ears of their soul. There is, behind the outward manifestation of nature, a soul of the morning. Our *Toḍi* and *Kānāḍā* are concerned with this soul."

IV. "Rapid change of movement or *tāla* is a means of conveying feeling of joy. Movement must keep pace with the fluctuating emotions—its rapidity or slowness should reflect or match the feeling. It is not necessary that the tempo should be uniform."

V. "Where exactly lies the difference and contrast between our indigenous music and western music? The main difference is concerned with those extra-fine semi-tones which we call Sruti. It is this factor which determines not only the relative positions but also the actual relationship between one note and another. It is a kind of blood relation, which if it be severed, is bound to change the character of the ragas and raginis even if they are spared their actual existence. The particular type of instrumental music which was evolved under the name of concerts, is a case in point. In this type of music the notes set up a kind of staccato dance—oblivious of that element of correlationship which endows music with its depth. These disparate notes may be made to play in a variety of ways. They may be made use of to evoke certain kinds of human emotions like

excitement, exhilaration, banter, etc. But the innovations can have no place in that heaven of perfection where the ragas and raginis occupy positions of dignity."

—Extracted from *Centenary Number* : *RABINDRANATH TAGORE*, 1861-1961, published by Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 103, 104, 106, 107.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EVOLUTION OF THE MUSIC-PARTS

The 'music-part' is known as a unit or division of songs (*prabandha-gītis*). It is known by different names, *dhātu*, *aṁśa*, *kali*, *tuka*, *bhāga*, etc. The *prabandha* type of songs are known by their harmonious combination of words (*sāhitya*) and tunes (*rāga*), together with metres, rhythms and tempi. It is systematically composed according to the *śāstric* rules of the 'high-way' i.e. classical type of music. Śāraṅgadeva said: *'prakṛṣto yasya bandhaḥ syāt sa prabandho nigadyate'*.[1] The present classical type music of both Northern and Southern systems are known as the *nibaddha-prabandha gītis*. Śāraṅgadeva said that the *prabandha* type of music is divided into three classes:[2] *sūḍa*, *mārga-sūḍa*, *ālī* or *ālī-samśrita* and *viprakīrṇa*. They are again of two types, pure (*śuddha*) and mixed (*miśrita*). The *prabandhas* are of different forms with different names. *A prabandha-gīti* is possessed of five *jātis*, and they are: *medinī*, *nandinī*, *dīpanī*, *pāvanī*, and *tārāvalī*. These are known as *jātis* because of their particular form and definite character. Bharata described *jātis* in connection with the classical *dhruvā* type of dramatic songs (*nāṭyagīti*). Bharata said that *jātis* evolved from *vṛttas*, and *vṛttas* are spun out of different numbers of letters: *'jātayo vṛttasambhavāḥ'* (NS. 32.286).[3] Again each *jāti* consists of three *vṛttas*, and they are: *guru-prāya*, *laghu-prāya*, and *guru-laghu-akṣaraprāya*:

> Sarvāsāmeva jātīnāṃ trividaṃ vṛtta-miṣyate /
> Guruprāyaṃ laghuprāyaṃ guru-laghakṣaraṃ tathā //
>
> NS. 32.39[4]

1. प्रकृष्टो यस्य बन्धः स्यात् स प्रबन्धो निगद्यते ।
2. प्रबन्धास्त्रिविधाः ।
3. जातयो वृत्त-संभवाः ।—नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२८६
4. सर्वासामेव जातीनां त्रिविधं वृत्तमिष्यते ।
   गुरुप्रायं लघुप्रायं गुरुलघक्षरं तथा ॥
   —नाट्यशास्त्र (काशो सं) ३२।३६

The *jātis* are connected with the *dhruvās*. The Vedic metres are life-force (*prāṇa*) and indispensible parts (*aṅga*) of the *jātis*. Kātyāyana said in the *Sarvānukramaṇi* (middle of the fourth century B.C.) : *atha chandāṁśe-gāyatruṣṇiganuṣṭuva-vṛhatī-paṅkti - triṣṭuva - jagatyatijagatī - sakkaryatiśakkaryaṣṭyatyaṣṭi-dhṛtyatidhṛtaḥ*'.[5] That is, *chandas* are : *gāyatrī*, *uṣṇka*, *anuṣṭupa*, *vṛhatī*, *paṅkti*, *triṣtuva*, *jagatī*, *atijagatī*, *śakkarī*, *atiśakkarī*, *aṣti*, *atyaṣti*, *dhṛti*, *atidhṛti*, etc. Ṣadguruśiṣya wrote his commentary, *Vedārthadīpikā*, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He elaborately described the metres, together with *kṛti*, *prakṛti*, *ākṛtī*, *saṃkṛti*, *abhikṛti*, and *utkṛti*.[6] These metres were used in the *jātis*. The *jātis* are : *ayukta*, *pratiṣṭḥā*, *madhya-gāyatrī*, *chapalā*, *udgāta*, *dhṛti*, etc.

The *nibaddha-prabandha-gītis* had their origin in the post-Vedic classical *padas* (*padagānas*), which have been elaborately dealt with by Bharata in the *Nātyaśāstra*. Now, what are the *padas*? Bharata said that which is composed of letters, is known as '*pada*' : '*yat kiñchidakṣara-kṛtaṃ tat-sarvaṃ pada-saṁjñitam*'.[7] The *padas* make the *gāndharva* type of music manifest, and they are known as *vastu* : '*padaṃ tasya bhavet-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakam*'.[8]

The *padas* are divided into two classes, *nibaddha* and *anibaddha*. They were further classified into two, *satāla* (with time-measures) and *atāla* (without time-measures). The *nibaddha* type of *prabandha* with time-measures (*satālā*) is known as *ālaptī* or *ālāpa*, and *anibaddha* type of *prabandha*, without time-measures (*atāla*) is called *sārthaka* i.e. meaningful *gānas*, composed of letters,

5. अथ छन्दांशे गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुब्बृहतीपङ्क्ति-त्रिष्टुब्जगत्यतिजगती-शक्कर्यतिशक्कर्यष्टयत्यष्टियधृत्यतिधृतः।

6. Vide *Sarvānukramaṇi*, edited by A. A. Macdonell (Oxford, 1886), p. 77.

7. यत् किञ्चिदक्षरकृतं तत्सर्वं पदसंज्ञितम्।

—नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२६

8. पदं तस्य भवेत् वस्तु स्वर-तालानुभावकम्।

metres, and *jāti*. Both the types of *prabandha-gīti* are possessed of different parts or limbs (*aṅgas* or *dhātus*) like *svara*, *viruda*, *pada*, *tenaka*, *pāta*, and *tāla*. Though these parts or limbs convey different meanings, yet they make the *prabandha-gītis* significant.

Now, how the music-parts (*dhātus*) came into being? In the Vedic period, the *sāmagānas* were sung with five *bhaktis*, and they were : *hiṁkāra*, *udgītha*, *prastāva*, *pratihāra* and *nidhāna*. Sometimes two more *bhaktis*, *praṇava* and *upadrava*, were added. The *bhaktis* were also known as *vibhaktis* or *vidhās*. Besides the *sāmans*, there were *śastras* (शस्त्र) which were sung in tune. The *ṛks* or stanzas of the *śastras* were known as *āhāra*, first *ṛk*, middle *rk*, last *ṛk*, and then *vaṣatkāra*. The five parts (*aṅgas*) of the *sāmans*, *hiṁkāra ungītha*, etc. corresponded to the five *ṛks* or stanzas of the *śastras*. Those five parts of the *sāmans* were generally meant for invoking the five deities, who were in the form of *mantras*. The *sāmans* were sung (or chanted) sometimes by *prastotā*, *udgātā* and *pratihāra*, and sometimes by four Brāhmiṇs, including the presiding Brāhmiṇ, *Brahmā*, who was possessed of knowledge in the four Vedas. Śāraṅgadeva said that the five *aṅgas* of the Vedic *sāmagāna*, *prastāva*, *udgītha*, *pratihāra*, *upadrava* and *nidhāna* were afterwards transformed into five *dhātus* of the post-Vedic classical *gānas*, and they were *udgrāha*, *anudgrāha*, *sambandha*, *dhruvaka* and *ābhoga*. Again the first part, *hiṁkāra* together with *praṇava* or *oṁkāra* were used in the classical music as the supplement to the time-unit or *kalā*. Śāraṅgadeva said,

> Brahmaṇā cha purā gītaṃ prastāvodgīthakau tathā /
> Pratihāropadravau cha nidhānaṃ pañchamaṃ mataṃ //
> Tato hiṁkāraḥ oṁkāra saptāṅgānīti tatra tu /
> Udgrāhaḥ syādanudgrāhaḥ samvandho dhruvakastathā //
> Ābhogaścheti pañchānāmādyānāmabhidhā kramāt
> Hiṁkāroṁkārayostatra kalā-pūrakatā matā //[9]

9. ब्रह्मणा च पुरा गोतं प्रस्तावोद्गोथकौ तथा ।
प्रतिहारोपद्रवौ च निधानं पञ्चमं मत ।।

Śāraṅgadeva quoted Brahmā, the first and foremost musicologist of the pre-Christian era. Perhaps he was the author of the *Brahmabharataṃ*, and flourished in the 600-500 B.C. It is said that Brahmā or Brahmābharata introduced five *dhātus* or music-parts in the *gāndharva* type of music, as five *aṅgas* were current in the Vedic music with some changed names. As for example,

prastāva,	*udgītha,*	*pratihāra,*	*upadrava,*	*nidhāna*
|	|	|	|	|
udgrāha,	*melāpaka,*	*dhruvaka,*	*antara,*	*ābhoga*

It should be remembered that the *dhātus* like *udgrāha* or *udgrāhaka*, etc. are the music-parts of the post-Vedic *prabandha-gītis*. The *dhātu*, *dhrūva* or *dhruvaka* is used as the intermediary part (*aṁśa*) between *melāpaka* and *ābhoga*, and *antara* occurs in between *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. *Antara* is sometimes omitted. Śāraṅgadeva described those music-parts in the *prabandha* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. He said,

Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥ sa chaturdhā[10] nirūpitaḥ /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpakadhruvau //
Ābhogaścheti teṣāṃ cha kramāllakṣābhidadhmahe /
Udgrāhaḥ prathamo bhāgastato melāpakaḥ smṛtaḥ //
Dhruvatvāchcha dhruvaḥ paśchādābhogastvantimo mataḥ /
Dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturaṇyo'ntarā-bhidhaḥ //[11]

ततो हिंकारः ओङ्कार सप्ताङ्गानीति तत्र तु ।
उद्ग्राहः स्यादनुद्ग्राहः सम्बन्धो ध्रुवकस्तथा ।।
आभोगश्चेति पञ्चनामाद्यानामभिधा क्रमात् ।
हिंकारोंकारयोस्तत्र कलापूरकता मता ।।

10. Śāraṅgadeva did not recognise *antarā* as a separate *dhātu*.

11. प्रबन्धावयवो धातुः स चतुर्धा निरूपितः ।
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापकध्रुवौ ।।
आभोगश्चेति तेषां च क्रमाल्लक्षाभिदध्महे ।
उद्ग्राहः प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेलापकः स्मृतः ।।
ध्रुवत्वाच्च ध्रुवः पश्चादाभोगस्त्वन्तिमो मतः ।
ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरण्योऽन्तराभिधः ।।
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।७-९

Siṁhabhupāla said in the commentary: *'sa chatuṣprakāraḥ. Udgrāhakaḥ, melāpakaḥ, ābhogaḥ, antaraścheti.* * **Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ityuchyate. Dvitīyo bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Tṛtīyo bhāgo dhruvaḥ.* * * *Udgrāhāntaramābhogāntaraṃ cha gānādantimo bhāgaḥ ābhogaḥ.* * * *Dhruvasya ābhogasya cha madhye'ntarākhyaḥ pañchamo dhāturasti.* * * *Antarākhyo dhātur-na chatvāra eva dhātavaḥ*'.[12] The names of the music-parts (*dhātus*) were probably changed into *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañchārī*, and *ābhoga* in the end of the eighteenth, or in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

A *rāga*, constructed out of the succession of seven notes, manifests and develops itself in the music-part *sthāyi*.[13] It is called *sthāyī*, because a *rāga* rests on it and makes itself manifest :—*sthitatvāt sthāyī*. Some are of the opinion that a *rāga* first takes its base or seat in the music part *sthāyī*, and then moves gradually towards the fifth and sixth notes, *pañchama* and *niṣāda* of the middle octave, and then comes in contact with other notes, and touches the tonic (*ṣaḍja*) of the higher octave, and rests on the sonant (*vādī-svara*). Again, when the *rāga* develops itself in the second music-part, *antara* or *antarā* (i.e. the music-part that rests between *sthāyī* and *sañchārī*), it generally starts from the third note, *gāndhāra* (sometimes from the fourth and fifth, *madhyama* or *pañchama*) of the middle octave and moves towards the high octave (*tāra-saptaka*). It moves sometimes upto *ṛṣabha*, or *gāndhāra* or *madhyama*, and is fully manifested there, and then comes down to the tonic (*ṣaḍja*) of the middle octave. In the South Indian system, *sthāyī* is known as *pallavi* and *antara* as *anupallavi*. The word

12. स चतुष्प्रकारः। उदग्राहकः, मेलापकः, आभोगः, अन्तरश्चेति। * * प्रबन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उदग्राहः इत्युच्यते। द्वितीयो भागो मेलापकः। तृतीयो भागो ध्रुवः। * * उदग्राहान्तरमाभोगान्तरं च गानादन्तिमो भागः आभोगः। * * ध्रुवस्य आभोगस्य च मध्येऽन्तराख्यः पञ्चमो धातुरस्ति। * * अन्तराख्यो धातुर्न चत्वार एव धातवः।

13. *Sthāyī* is sometimes pronounced as *ā-sthāyī*. In Sanskrit and Hindi, it is pronounced as *ā-sthāyī*. But it should be correctly pronounced as *sthāyī*, and not *ā-sthāyī*.

'*pallavi*' connotes the idea of seed or offspring. *Antara* is called *anupallavi*, because it comes after (*anu*) *pallavi*. So the word *pallavi* indicates the beginning of the song, whereas *anu-pallavi* conveys the idea of sprout. Fox-Strangway called *pallavi* a 'germ', 'sprout—first subject' or 'at home', and *anupallavi* an 'after-germ-second, subject', or 'interval, change of voice of register', etc.

The music-part *sthāyī* or *pallavi* makes manifest the *rāga*, and *antara* or *anupallavi* sustains it. Sometimes it is said that the notes of the first music-part *sthāyī* are sustained in the middle octave. The notes of the second music-part *antara* or *antarā* help the notes of the first music-part (*sthāyī*) to gradually play in the high octave. In the chapter of *varṇa* (*varṇa-prakaraṇa*), the first *varṇa* is known as *sthāyī*, which helps to make manifest the song (*gīta*) : '*yat gītaṃ varṇābhivyākti-kṛt*'.[14] It is similar to *udgrahaka* or *udgrāha*, the first part (*dhātu*) of the *prabandha* music, to some extent.

It is said that the consonant (*samvādī*) notes are profusely used in the second music-part *antara* or *antarā*. But from the viewpoint of elaboration of the notes (*svara-vistāra*), this process is more adopted in *sthāyī* than *antarā*, because it is very difficult to elaborate the notes from the middle octave to the high one.

The fourth music-part *ābhoga* is considered as the complement to the third one, *sañchārī*—'*abhogaḥ paripūrṇatā*', and, in that case, *antarā* or to both *sthāyī* and *antarā*. In some *dhruvapada* type of songs, we find only two music-parts, *sthāyī* and *antarā*, appears as the complement to *sthāyī*. But when a song is composed of four parts, *sthāyī*, *antarā* *sañchārī* and *ābhoga*, we consider *sañchārī* as both the counter-part of and the complement to *sthāyī*, and *ābhoga* as those of *antarā*. In fact, *sañchārī* and *ābhoga* are repetitions of *sthāyī*, and *antarā*. The musicologists say : '*antarāḥ samīpavarti*', i.e., *antarā* is the sustainer of and the complement to *sthāyī*.

14. यत् गीतं वर्णाभिव्यक्तिकृत् ।

It is interesting to note that the word '*antara*' or '*antarā*' is almost absent in the pre-*Ratnākara* works. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 century A.D.) said in connection with the division of the *nibaddha gītis* in his *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*.

Ādya udgrāhako jñeyo melāpaka-staduttaraḥ /
Tṛtīyo dhruva-saṁjñāḥ syādantaraḥ syāchchaturthakaḥ /
Ābhogaḥ pañchamabhāgaḥ········ //[15]

A *nibaddha-gīti* is divided into five parts, and they are: *udgrāhaka*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, *antara* and *ābhoga*. The *udgrāhaka* is the first part, the second part is *melāpaka*, the third part is *dhruva*, the fourth part is *antara*, and the fifth part is *ābhoga*. *Antara* and *antarā* are one and the same. Paṇḍit Ahobala divided the music-parts into five, following the method of the ancient musicologists.[16] From this it is understood that the five divisions existed before Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 A.D.), and by '*pūrvasūribhiḥ*', he meant Śāraṅgadeva and others. It has already been said that though Śāraṅgadeva admitted in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*: '*prabandhāvayavo dhātu sa chaturdhā nirūpitaḥ*', yet he recognized *antara* as *dhātu*, in between the parts, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*: '*dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturaṇyo'ntarābhidhaḥ*' (4.9). Kallināth said: '*dhruvābhogāntare dhruvābhogayormadhye jāta utpanno nirmita ityarthaḥ*'. Śāraṅgadeva further admitted that the music part *antara* or *antarā* is used in the *sālagasūḍa-prabandha* and *rūpaka-prabandha*: '*sa tu sālagasūḍastha rūpakeṣveva dṛśyate*'.[17] Kallināth further said: '*atra dṛśyata iti dṛśi-grahaṇena dhruvādiṣvapi yatra chirantana-prayogādantaro dṛṣṭānta-tattraiva*

15. आद्य उदग्राहको ज्ञेयो मेलापकस्तदुत्तरः ।
तृतीयो ध्रुव-संज्ञाः स्यादन्तरः स्याच्चतुर्थकः ।
आभोगः पञ्चमभागः * * ॥
—सङ्गीत-पारिजात ।

16. पञ्चधा कथितो भागो गीतोऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

17. स तु सालगसूडस्थ-रूपकेष्वेव दृश्यते ।
—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।९

kāryo nānyatreti niyamāntara-syāpi sūchitatvānmaṇṭhādiṣu darśanāttatraiva kārya'.[18] He meant to say that though *dhruva* functions as *antara* from very ancient times, yet it is used separately in the *prabandha* like *maṇṭh*, etc. In fact, the music-part *dhruva* has been divided into two, *dhruva* and *antara* or *antarā*, and *antara* is used alternately (*vikalpe*). The seven types of *vinnā*, etc. *rāgagītis*, and *ṛk*, *pānika*, etc. *brahmagītis* were also divided into four parts instead of five. The commentator Siṃhabhupāla said : '*Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ityuchyate. Dvitīya-bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Tṛtīyo bhāgo dhruvaḥ. Tasya-dhruva-śabdasya vyutpattistu dhruvatvānniśchalatvāditi. Udgrāhānantaramābhogānantaraṃ cha gānādantimo bhāgo ābhogaḥ. * * dhruvasya ābhogasya cha madye'ntarākhyaḥ pañchamo dhāturasti. Tat-kathaṃ pañchadheti noktamata āha—sa tviti. Antarākhyo dhātur-na sarvatra prabandheṣu. Kiṃ tu sālagasūḍa-prabandheṣveva. Tataścha 'sarveṣu prabandheṣu'. Chatvāra eva dhātavaḥ.*[19]

So we find that the music-part *antara* or *antarā* is used in the *sālaga-sūḍa-prabandha-gītis*, otherwise the four parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*, have been accepted in the system of ancient classical *gāndharva* and *deśī* types of music. The part *antara* is also known as '*upantara*'. In truth, *antara* was not used generally by the ancient artists and musicologists as *dhruva* used to function for it. Kallināth said : '*sakṛd-virati-rudgrāho'ntaraḥ tu akṣara-nirmitaḥ*.'[20] He further said on the *śloka* 4.8 of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* : '*anena gānakāle dhruvasyādavṛttiṣu kṛtāṣu*.[21] It is clear from the following lines of Śāraṅgadeva :

18. अत्र दृश्यत इति दृषि-ग्रहणेन ध्रुवादिष्वपि यत्र चिरन्तनप्रयोगादन्तरो दृष्टान्त तत्रैव कार्यो नान्यत्रेति नियमान्तरस्यापि सूचितत्वान्मण्ठादिषू दर्शनात्तत्रैव कार्यं।

19. प्रवन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उदग्राह इत्युच्यते। द्वतीय भागो मेलापकः। तृतीय भागो ध्रुवः। तस्य ध्रुव-शब्दस्य व्युतपत्तिस्तु ध्रुवत्वान्निश्चलत्वादिति। उदग्राहानन्तरमाभोगान्तरं च गानादन्तिमो भागो आभोगः। * * ध्रुवस्य आभोगस्य च मद्येन्तराख्यः पञ्चमो धातुरस्ति। तत कथं पञ्चधेति नोक्तमत आह—स त्विति। अन्तराख्यो धातुर्न सर्वत्र प्रवन्धेषु। किंतु सालगसूडप्रवन्धेष्वेव। ततश्च 'सर्वेषु प्रवन्धेषु'। चत्वार एव धातवः।

20. सकृद्विरतिरुदग्राहोऽन्तरः तु अक्षरनिर्मितः।

21. अनेन गानकाले ध्रुवस्यादवृत्तिषु कृताषु * *।

Dhruva-statastatra pūrvameka-dhātupadadvayaṃ //
Bhinna-dhātu tṛtīyaṃ syādābhogastadanantaraṃ //
Geyo vāggeyakāreṇa svābhidhāna-vibhūṣitaḥ //[22]

Siṁhabhupāla said that instead of four, three music-parts were also used in a *prabandha-gīti*. Some other music-parts were mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, but usually, said Kallināth, four music-parts were accepted, as *antara* was used exclusively in the *manṭha* class of the *gītis* : *'yatra cirantana-prayogādantaro dṛṣṭaḥ'*.[23]

Paṇḍit Dāmodara followed the method of Śāraṅgadeva. He said in the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* :

Dhātuḥ prabandhāvayavaḥ sa-chodgrāhādi bhedataḥ /
Chaturdhā kathito bhāgastvādyo udgrāhasaṁjñakaḥ //
Ādāvudgṛhyate-gītaṃ yenodgrāhastadā bhavet /
Melāpako dvitīyastūdgrāha-dhruvaka-melanāt //
Dhruvatvād-dhruva-saṁjñastu tṛtīyo bhāga uchyate /
Ābhogastvantimo bhāgo gīta-pūrṇatva-sūchakaḥ //
Dhruvābhogāntare kaiśchit dhāturuktontarābhidhaḥ /[24]

Paṇḍit Dāmodara regarded *udgrāha* as the first part (*'āram-bhaka'*), and *ābhoga* as the last one, and *antarā* as an intermediary part between *dhruva* and *ābhoga* of the *prabandha* type of songs. He, therefore, recognized only four music-parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, and *ābhoga*.

22. धुवस्ततस्तत्र पूर्वमेकधातुपदद्वयं ।
भिन्नधातु तृतीयं स्यादाभोगस्तदनन्तरं ।
गेयो वाग्गेयकारेण स्वाभिधानविभूषित: ।। —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।३७-३८

23. यत्र चिरन्तर प्रयोगादन्तरो दृष्टः ।

24. धातुः प्रबन्धावयवः स चोदग्राहादि भेदतः ।
चतुर्धा कथितो भागस्त्वाद्यो उदग्राहसंज्ञकः ।।
आदाबुदगृह्यते गीतं येनोदग्राहस्तदा भवेत ।
मेलापको द्वितीयस्तुदग्राहधुवकमेलनात ।।
धवत्वादधवसंज्ञस्तु तृतीयो भाग उच्यते ।
आभोगस्त्वन्तिमो भागो गीतपूर्णत्वसूचकः ।।
धवाभोगान्तरे कैश्चित धातुरुक्तोन्तराभिधः ।।

Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) accepted four music-parts or limbs in the *Rāgatattvavibodha*. Śrīnivāsa said,

Ādāvūdgṛhyate yena sa tānodgrāha-saṁjñakaḥ /
Ādyantayośchaniyamastāne yatra prajāyate //
Sthāyītānaḥ sa vijñeyo lakṣya-lakṣaṇakovidaiḥ /
Sañchārī tu sa vijñeyaḥ sthāpyāroha-vimiśritaḥ //
Yatra rāgasya viśrānti samāptidyotako hi saḥ //[25]

According to Śrīnivāsa, music-parts are four in number, and they are *udgrāha*, *sthāyī*, *sañchārī*, and *dyotaka*. He flourished between Ahobala and Bhāvabhatta, the author of *Anupasaṅgīta-vilāsa*. It is interesting to note that Śrīnivāsa was a staunch follower of Ahobala and borrowed many materials from Ahobala's *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*.[26] Bhāvabhatta was a follower of Śrīnivāsa and incorporated many materials in his *Anupasaṅgītavilāsa* from Śrīnivāsa's *Rāgatattvavibodha*. But he differed from Śrīnivāsa regarding the names and numbers of the music-parts. Śrīnivāsa did not recognize *antara* or *antarā* as a part. He rather combined the chapters on *varṇa* (*varṇālaṁkāra*) and *rāga* (*prabandha*) together and accepted *sthāyī* as the second part which seems quite different from the divisions, made by other musicologists.

Now, let us see how the music-part (*dhātu*) *antara* or *antarā* was recognized as an indispensible part (or limb) of the *nibaddha-gītis*. It was also used as an alternative part to *dhruva*, during Dāmodara's time (1625 A.D.). He said that 'some *dhātu* like *antara* is also referred' to : '*kaśchiddhāturuktaḥ*.'[27]

25. आदावूदगृह्यते येन स तानोदग्राहसंज्ञकः ।
आद्यन्तयोश्चनियमस्ताने यत्र प्रजायते ॥
स्थायीतानः स विज्ञेयः लक्ष्य-लक्षणकोविदैः ।
सञ्चारी तु स विज्ञेयः स्थाप्यारोहबिमिश्रितः ॥
यत्र रागस्य विश्रान्ति समाप्तिद्योतको हि सः ।

26. Unfortunately the complete printed book is not yet available. But it is sure that Paṇḍit Ahobala wrote the *Pārijāta*, dealing with all the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *prabandha*, *vādya*, *nātya* and *nṛtya*.

27. कश्चिद्धातुरुक्तः ।

It has already been said that Kallināth admitted the alternative (*vikalpa*) use of *antarā*, as he admitted : '*anena gāna-kāle dhruvasyā'vṛttiṣu kṛtāsu*,[28] i.e. when *antarā* is used, *dhruva* remains absent. But this practice has not been accepted by most of the post-Śāraṅgadeva authors, and some have rather omitted *antarā* instead of *dhruva*.

Veṅkatamakhī also admitted the four music-parts, in the *Chaturdaṇḍīprakāśikā* (1620 A.D) like his predecessors. He said,

> Dhāturnāma prabandhasyāvayavaḥ sa chaturvidhaḥ /
> Udgrāhaḥ prathamastatra tato melāpakadhruvau //
> Ābhogaśchetyathaiteṣāṃ * * * * /[29]

The part *ābhoga* completes the *prabandha-gīti*—'*prabandhasya yadābhogaṃ paripūrtiṃ karoti tat*'.[30] He also mentioned the part *antarā* in between *dhruva* and *ābhoga* : '*dhruvābhogāntare jāto yatastenāntarābhidhaḥ*'.[31] He said that *antarā* may be recognized as the fifth music-part, if necessary.

So it seems that the divisions of the parts *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañchārī* and *ābhoga* are the products of the nineteenth century. Sir S. M. Tagore mentioned these particular names of the music-parts in his article, *Hindu Music*, published in the journal *Hindu Patriot*, in 1874. Sir William Jones admitted these names in his monograph : *On the Musical Modes of Hindoos*, published in 1784 Captain Willard recognized them. Rādhā Mohan Sen also mentioned these names in his *Saṅgīta-taraṅga*, published in 1818. He defined *dhātu* as *toka* i.e. *tuka*, or *aṃśa*, or *bhāga*. He said,

> Toker viśeṣa nāma śuna mahāśaya //
> Prathama toker nāma ūrdhagraha vale /

28. अनेन गानकाले ध्रुवस्याऽवृत्तिषु कृतासु ।
29. धातुर्नाम प्रवन्धस्यावयवः स चतुर्विधः ।
    उद्ग्राहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापक-ध्रुवौ ।।
    आभोगश्चेत्यथैतेषां * * ।
30. प्रवन्धस्य यदाभोगं परिपुर्तिं करोति तत् ।
31. ध्रुवाभोगान्तरे जातो यतस्तेनान्तराभिधः ।

Athavā *asthāyī* nāma—kahena sakale //
Dvitīya toker nāma *milā-kuka* māni /
Tṛtīya toker nāma *ānlara* vākhāni //
Chaturthete *bhāga* āra pañchame *ābhoga* /
Bhogere ābhoga vale, ābhogere bhoga //
Chāri-toka dhruvapada kahilāma yāya /
Milākuka nāme toka nāhika tāhāya //
Asthāyī uṭhive tāra-kharaja upare /
Dharive antarā pare rikhābher ghare //
Gāndhāre dharive *bhoga,—ābhoga* madhyame /
Chāri toka dhruvapada erupa niyame //[32]

He described the special name of *toka* i.e. *tuka* or music-part. A *dhruvapada* is consisted of four music-parts, and the first one is *ūrdhagrāha* (?) i.e. *udgrāha*. Or this part is known to all as *a-sthāyī* : i.e. *sthāyī*. The second one is known as *milākuka*, i.e. *melāpaka*, the third one is *antarā*, the fourth one is *bhoga*, and the fifth one is *ābhoga*. But, in truth, *bhoga* is known as *ābhoga* and *vice-versa*. They are the *tokas* i.e. *tukas* or parts of the *dhruvapada*. *Milākuka* or *melāpaka* is now out of practice. The notes of *a-sthāyī* begin from *kharaja* i.e. *ṣaḍja*, and that of

32. तोकेर विशेष नाम शुन महाशय ।।
प्रथम तोकेर नाम ऊर्द्ध ग्रह वले ।
अथवा अस्थायी नाम—कहेन सकले ।।
द्वितोय तोकेर नाम मिलाकुक मानि ।
तृतीय तोकेर नाम आन्तर वाखानि ।।
चतुर्थेते भाग आर पञ्चमे आभोग ।
भोगेरे आभोग वले, आभोगेरे भोग ।।
चारि-तोक ध्रुवपद कहिलाम याय ।
मिलाकुक नामे तोक नाहिक ताहाय ।।
अस्थायी उठिवे तार-खरज उपरे ।
धरिवे अन्तरा परे रिखावेर घरे ।।
गान्धारे धरिवे भोग,—आभोग मध्यमे ।
चारि तोक ध्रुवपद एरूप नियमे ।।

—सङ्गीततरङ्ग ।

antara from *rikhābha* i.e. *ṛṣabha*. The notes of the part *bhoga* rise from *gāndhāra*, and that of *ābhoga* rise from *madhyama*.

The *Saṅgīta-taraṅga* of Rādhā Mohan Sen is an authentic Bengali book on music. Probably for want of proper knowledge in Sanskrit, some of the technical names of the music materials have been mutilated. But the reason for the adoption of new names, *a-sthāyī* or *āsthāyī*[33], *bhoga*, etc. has not been given by him. The radical musicians and musicologists of the twentieth century newly reformed the arrangement of the microtones, *rāgas*, parent scales or *melas*, tonal forms or *svara-rūpas*, sonant (*vādī*), *tānas*, *dhātus*, etc. in the North Indian system of music. We do not know as to why *udgrāha* and *melāpaka* were replaced by *sthāyī* and *antarā*. If we investigate into the matter from historical standpoint we find that *udgrāha* is the first music-part of the *prabandha* chapter, from where the song begins, and *sthāyī* is the first part of the *varṇa* chapter, where the song takes its stand and begins to manifest. So the significance of both the parts of two different chapters are almost the same. Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe adopted the present modified system of the music-parts, and said,

'प्रवन्ध के भिन्न भिन्न भाग अथवा अवयव रहते थे जिन्हें धातु कहते थे। इन धातुओंके नाम रत्नाकरमे इस प्रकार दिये हैं—उद्ग्राह, मेलापक, ध्रुव, अन्तरा और आभोग। आजकल प्रवन्धों का गायन कहीं दिखाई नही देता। अतः इन प्राचीन धातुओंको चर्चा करनेसे हमें कोइ प्रयोजन नहीं हैं। जिस प्रकार हमारे आधुनिक गीतोंमें स्थायी, अन्तरा, सञ्चारी और आभोग इत्यादि धातु समझाना चाहिये'।

That is, different parts of the *prabandha-gāna* are known as *dhātus*. In *Ratnākara*, they are called *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, *antarā* and *ābhoga*. Śāraṅgadeva also said that there was a type of music, known as *dhruva* containing four music-parts. This *dhruva* may be recognized as the forerunner of the modern *dhruvapada*. The first part of the *dhrupapada* was known as *udgrāha* which is similar to the part, *sthāyī* of the modern times. The second part of this *dhruva* music was sung higher

33. It has already been said that the correct name is *sthāyī*.

than the first part, as Siṁhabhupāla said : '*kiñchiducchaṃ khaṇḍaṃ antarākhyāṃ kartavyaṃ*'. From the commentary of Siṁhabhupāla it is understood that the name of the second part was *antara*. But it is not correct, as the name of the second part was *melāpaka* even during Siṁhabhupāla time (1330 A.D.). *Antara* was the fourth part that occurred between *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. However, the third part of the *dhruva* type of *prabandha* music used to be represented as the first one, and the fourth part, as the second one. Nowadays the practice of *śāstric prabandha* type of the *gītis* is almost obsolete, so ancient *dhātus* like *udgrāha*, etc. have no utility. In the modern system of music, the four *dhātus* : *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañchārī* and *ābhoga* are used. But Paṇḍit Bhātkhaṇḍejī remained silent about the reason for change that took place in the field of the *dhātus*. It is probable that there was a great interchange between the two chapters, *varṇa* and *prabandha*. The *varṇa* chapter is possessed of four parts, *sthāyī*, *sañchārī*, *ārohī* and *avarohī*, and the *prabandha* chapter consists mainly of four parts, *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, and *ābhoga*. It has already been said that Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) adopted in his system some modified music-parts like *udgrāha*, *sthāyī*, *sañchārī*, and *dyotaka*. So it seems that the music-society of the early twentieth century had a tendency to adopt a new process, regarding the music-parts, and so they adopted *sthāyī* and *sañchārī* from the *varṇa* chapter, and *antarā* and *ābhoga* from the *prabandha* one, so as to complete the system.

It is true that the radicalists have given some new significances to their new devised music-parts. They said that *sthāyī* means the first music-part that helps to manifest music. In the *varṇa* chapter, Mataṅga said : '*yad gītaṃ varṇābhivyaktikṛt yatra pade sa varṇaḥ sthāyītyuchyate*'[34], i.e. as *varṇa* manifests the song, so it is called *sthāyī*. *Antarā* suggests the part that lies after *sthāyī*. Therefore the word *antarā* signifies the idea of 'next to *sthāyī*'. But in the *prabandha* chapter, it has been defined as the part

34. यद् गीतं वर्णाभिव्यक्तिकृत यत्र पदे स वर्णः स्थायीत्युच्यते ।

that originates in between (*antare*) the parts, *dhruva* and *ābhoga* : '*dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturanyo'ntarābhidhaḥ*'.[35] Perhaps the radicalists had adopted the word *antarā* that lies between the parts, third and fourth, and then explained it as the next part to *sthāyī*. The word *sañchārī* means the movement of the notes which manifest the melody or song. In the *varṇa* chapter, said Mataṅga, it signifies the meaning, '*yatra gīte sañcharanti svarāḥ paraspara-mantarasahitā ekaikaśo vā sañchārī varṇa uchyate*'.[36] The part *ābhoga* means that which completes the manifestation of the melody, and consequently, of the song : '*ābhogaḥ paripūrṇatā*'.[37] Kallināth said, '*antimo dhātuḥ prabandhasya paripūrṇa-hetutvādābhoga iti kāraṇe kāryopachāra uktaḥ*'.[38] The radicalists also adopted this part having the same meaning.

35. ध वाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरन्योऽन्तराभिधः।

—रत्नाकर ४।६

36. यत्र गोते सञ्चरन्ति स्वराः परस्परमन्तरसहिता एकैकशो वा सञ्चारी वर्ण उच्यते।
37. आभोगः परिपुर्णता।
38. अन्तीमो धातुः प्रबन्धस्य परिपुर्णहेतुत्वादाभोग इति कारणे कार्योपचार उक्तः।

CHAPTER TWELVE

DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSICAL MUSIC AND MUSICAL LITERATURE OF BENGAL

I

Development of Classical Music

Bengal has produced thousands of personalities in all the spheres of activities, social, political, historical, literary, musical, and æsthetic. Thousands of music lovers, artists, composers, and authors were born on the soil of Bengal, who lived in music, breathed the air and atmosphere of music, and enriched the golden treasure of Indian music. The geographical boundary of ancient Bengal was not so limited as we find today, but it included Girivaraja (Behar), Kaliṅga (Utkal or Orissa) and Kāmarūpa (Assam) including Trihut. The classical music or art song was extensively cultured throughout the vast area of Bengal, making it compatible with innumerable types of regional music or folk songs that animated and elevated the daily lives of the plain living rural people.

The State patronage was always behind the healthy culture of music. The rich Zeminder classes also lent a helping hand to preserve and develop it. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.) there had been an upsurge of musical culture. Samudragupta was a great patron of this cultural efflorescence, as evidenced by his lyrists type of copper coin. Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (380-423 A.D.) was reputed to have been an adept and he composed many metrical works of great value. The Pāla and Sena Rulers also followed the ideals of the Gupta Emperors. In the recent archæological discoveries at Maināmatī and Lāmāi Hills, interesting objects like Kinnaras, horse-headed Tumburu, semi-divine Gandharvas with *damaru*, *ghaḍā* (picher), flute and drums of different sizes have been found. Many figures of musicians and typical musical instruments like cymbal, gong, trumpet, lyre, *mṛdaṅga* and *veeṇā* have

been excavated from the mounds of Pāhārpur. All of them undoubtedly prove that the people of Bengal under Pāla and Sena rules, could boast of a healthy culture of music with keen artistic sense and beauty. Bengal is regarded as the 'Land of Music' for more than a thousand years. Leaving aside the music culture of Bengal during the rules of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties, we find genuine evidence of the culture of classical type of music i.e. *rāga-saṅgīta* in the tenth-eleventh century A.D., when the Buddhist monks and Yogīs composed the *charyāgītis* and *vajragītis* on occasions of religious celebrations and secret functions of *maṇḍala-chakra*. Those *gītis* were the precious treasure of Bengal (*nadīmātṛkā Baṅgālā*), and they were written in *avahatta* language, making them compatible with the temperament and sentiment of the classical *rāgas* like *rāmakrī, bhairavī, kāmoda, mallārī, mālasī* or *mālaśrī, patamañjarī, deśākha, varāḍī dhvakrī, dhānasī* or *dhānaśrī, vaṅgāl, śāvarī* or *sāverī* or *srāberī, gauḍa, mālasī-gauḍa*, etc. The *gītis* were accompanied by *veeṇā, ektāra veṇu*, and *mṛdaṅga*. Different intricate *tālas* like *indratāla, yatitāla* etc. were used in those *gītis*. Different numbers of the line of the *charyā* and *vajra gītis* were systematized with two, three or four *dhātus* (music-parts), and the second, or the fourth *dhātu*, formed the *bhaṇitā*. The Buddhist *charyā* and *vajra gītis* of Bengal were recognized as the *nibaddha-prabandha-gītis*. They were composed in some suggestive (*ābhiprāyika*) language, known as *sandhyā-bhāṣā*.

After Vallālasena, Lakṣmaṇasena, his son and general, were devoted to music and Sanskrit learning. The book *Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa relates the fact that like Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Dhoyī, Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* was also a court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇsena. It is said that Lakṣmaṇasena was very fond of *nāṭagīti*, and there was special arrangements for performances of *nāṭagīti* every evening in his Royal Court. It is said that both Jayadeva and his devoted consort Padmāvatī were experts in music and dance. In the book *Sekaśubhodaya* of Nata-s Gaṅgo or Gaṅgoka, we find that Vuḍhanamiśra and his wife Vidyut-

prabhā were also the court-Nata and Natī of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena. At that time the dancing girls (*devadāsis*) were engaged in every temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Kārtikeya. In Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtaṃ*, we find the mention of these temple-dancing girls. In Rūparāma's *Dharmamaṅgala*, we get references of *natīnṛtyas* in the temples of Bengal, Gauḍa, Dvārbhāṅgā, Mithilā, Kāmarūpa, and Kaliṅga were the popular seats of culture of classical dance and music. Nepāl and Kāśmīr had received the impetus and inspiration of music and dance from Bengal. It is said that a dancing girl was sent by the Kāśmīr-Rāj to the Kārtikeya temple of Gauḍa, and there was a interchange of art and culture in between Kāśmīr and Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Music also travelled from Nepāl and Kāśmīr to Khāsgaṛh, Bhūtān, Kuchi, Khotān, China, Japan, and Korea, through the medium of the Buddhist religious missionaries and traders. There was a direct route from Magadh to Tibet *via* Kāśmīr.

In the early twelfth century A.D., Kavi Jayadeva composed the *Gitagovinda-padagītis*. The current *rāgas* and *tālas* were incorporated in his *padagitis*. The *tālas* were *maṇṭha*, *yati*, *rūpaka*, *pratimaṇṭha* and *ekatālī*, and their rhythmic patterns can easily be deciphered. The arrangements of the microtones in relation to seven notes were made according to the system, adopted by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (second century A.D.). The standard pure scale (*śuddha-mela*) was perhaps similar to *kāphī-mela* of the present Hindusthānī system of music, and *mukhārī* of Vidyāraṇya's system. They were known as the systematized *prabandha* type of music, as they strictly followed different classical *rāgas, tālas, dhātus, rasas* and *bhāvas*. It is possible to determine the real forms of the *rāgas*, current in Jayadeva's time (12th century A.D.) by comparing them with the melody-types (*rāgas*), as depicted in Kavi-Lochana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* and Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdayakautuka*. Jayadeva probably followed the modes of singing (*gāyāna-śailī*) of the *charyā* and *vajra gītis*. It is said that the songs of the *Gita-govinda* were presented everyday in the temple of Jagannātha

at Purī by the temple-dancing girls (*devadāsis*) and the Brāhmiṇs. They are still preserved in some of the South Indian temples in the form of classical *kīrtana*.

If we survey the culture of music during the time of Gupta, Pāla and Sena dynasties, we find that the *rāgagītis* were current almost everywhere in Bengal. The *śāstric* rules and injunctions of Bharata, Dattila, Kohala, Yāṣtika Shāṇḍilya, Nandikeśvara, Mataṅga were predominant in the domain of classical music. The classical types of music and dance which have been depicted in the mythico-historical *Purāṇas* like *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāyu*, *Agni*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and also in the classical Sanskrit dramas were cultured in Bengal. So the music culture of Bengal was in full accord with the rules and practices of the Indian system of music. Many regional types of music like *dohā*, *chāñchara*, *cchappāya*, *jhumrā*, *pāñchālī*, etc. were also current in different parts of Bengal.

The *maṅgalagīti* was very favourite to the people of Bengal. The reference to '*gītamaṅgala*'[1] is found in the great epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and classical dramas of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi, and others. The *maṅgalagīti* perhaps evolved out of the *gītamaṅgala* of the epics and the classical Sanskrit dramas. They were later on connected with many ballads and rural stories.

Beginning from the thirteenth to eighteenth century, i.e., from Vipradāsa's *Manasāvijaya* or *Manasā-maṅgala* to Bhāratachandra's *Annadāmaṅgala*, Bengal produced different kinds of *gīti* together with *maṅgalagīti*. In the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* and Bengali *Maṅgala-kāvyas*, we find the influence of the gods and the goddesses upon mortal men. Astronomy also says that the planets have also influence on the living beings. In the *Manasā-maṅgala*, we find it in a different way, as Devī Manasā was always ignored by Chānd-Sadāgara. Bengal preserved the tradition of culture of different types of *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, *kālī*-

1. Vide S. Prajñānānanda : *Historical Study of Indian Music*, Appendix II.

kīrtana, and *prabandhas* like *dvipadikā*, *ṣtapadī*, *pañchālikā*, *jambhalikā*, *kīrtigāna* or *padāvalī-kīrtana*, etc. Śārańgadeva describes in the fourth chapter of the *Sańgīta-Ratnākara*, the classical forms and characteristics of the *gītis* and *gānas* like *mańgala* (4.303), *mańgalāchāra* (4.297), *dhavala* (4.302), *charyā* (4.293), *charchari* (4.290), *karaṇa* or *kirti* or *kirtilahari* (4.23), *brahma* and *kambala* etc. In the fourteenth-fifteenth century, Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa of Bīrbhūm, Vidyāpati, Umapātidhara and many other mystic Vaiṣṇava poets composed *padagītis* in *avahaṭṭha-bengali-maithili* language. They were sung with different *rāgas* and *tālas*, together with different *rasas* and *bhāvas* (emotional sentiments and moods). Those *padagītis* fully imbibed the atmosphere and spirit of classical music. They were possessed of different music-parts (*dhātus*), metres (*chhandas*), and three registers (*sthānas*) etc. The provinces of Nepāl and Trihuta were adjacent to Greater Bengal, and were influenced by the classical *padagītis* of Bengal.

The fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. was an epoch-making period. Śrī Chaitanya of Navadvīp (1485-1533 A.D.) brought about a renaissance in the domain of the *padagītis* in Bengal. He promulgated the *nāma-kīrtana*, following the current types of *charyā* and *gītagovinda*. He sung *kīrtana* within closed doors in Śrīvāsa's house at Navadvīp (*Śrivāsa-āńginā*) for the first time. The learned musicians Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda (of Orissa), Murāri-Gupta, and other Vaiṣṇava savants always accompanied him. Svarūpa-Dāmodara was an expert in both the arts of playing *mṛdańga* and classical music. From Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Gītāprakāśa* (16th century A.D.) and Kavi-Nārāyaṇa's *Sańgītasaraṇi* (16th-17th century A.D.), we come to know that Rāy Rāmānanda was well versed in the art and science of music and grammar of classical music. Rāy Rāmānanda was the court-poet of Pratāparudra-Deva of Gajapati dynasty of Orissa, and both of them were devoted disciples of Śrī Chaitanya. Rāy Rāmānanda composed some treaties on music, and elaborately dealt with the problem of *kṣudragīti*.

The *nāma-kīrtana* was composed of different names of Hari,

the Lord of the universe : '*harernāma harernāma*', etc., but it was sung with pure classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. It has already been said that Śāraṅgadeva described elaborately the *karaṇa-prabandhas* in the early thirteenth century A.D. in connection with *niryukta* and *aniryukta* as well as eight kinds of *sūḍa-prabandha-gīti* (vide SR. 4.21-32), Śrī Chaitanya's introduction of the *nāma-kīrtana* or *kīrtana* was supported by Svarūpa-Dāmodara and Rāy Rāmānanda, who were well-versed in *śāstric* classical music.

After Śrī Chaitanya, the Vaiṣṇava savants like Ṭhākur Narottama or Narottamadāsa, Āchārya Srīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda or Dukī Kṛṣṇadāsa (1583 A.D.) brought about a new revival of the *padakīrtana* in Bengal. It has already been said that Svāmī Haridās Gosvāmī lived at this time (end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century A.D., during the reign of the Moghul Emperors Ākbar and Jāhāṅgīr) at Vṛndāvana. Svāmī Haridās Gosvāmī[2] was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and founder of *Haridāsī* or *Sakhī* sect at Vṛndāvana. From F. S. Growse's *Archaelogical Account of Mathurā* (1883), we know that Svāmī Haridās composed many *sakhis*, *chambolas*, *siddhāntapadas*, and *dhruvapada* type of songs in Kāiti and Brajabulī languages. Many other composers and musicians like Priyādās, Dhruvadās, Dāmodara-Svāmī, Dayāldās, Viṭhal-Vipul, Bihārīdās, and Rasikadās were famous in Mathurā and Vṛndāvana at that time. Some of them were contemporary to and many lived immediately after Śrī Haridās Svāmī or Svāmī Haridās. Haridās created Vṛndāvana seat of culture of *dhruvapada*. It is said that Ṭhākur Narottama, Āchārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda went to Vṛndāvana and Narottama took systematic lessons in *dhruvapada prabandha-gitis* from some noted Vaiṣṇava savants for a long time. They came back to

2. Some are inclined to call Svāmī Haridāsa as Haridāsa Dāgur, but Haridāsa Dāgur was quite a different man from Svāmī Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana. Again there is no genuine proof that Svāmī Haridāsa, the music-teacher of Miāṅ Tānsen, was a musician of the dāgarvāni or dāgurvāni school.

Bengal, finishing their studies in different *śāstras* and classical music. They brought with them a huge collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on different subjects, and it is most probable that there were some music manuscripts with them. But unfortunately the manuscripts were looted on the way to Gauḍa by the men of Rājā Veerhāmbīra (1538-1572) of Vaṇa-Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā. Some are of the opinion that this fact is not historically correct, though it has been mentioned in the Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Chaitanya-charitāmṛta.*[3] Rājā Veerhāmbīra, it is said, was subsequently converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The descendants of Veerhāmbīra made Viṣṇupur the seat of culture of classical music.

After coming back from Vṛndāvana, the three scholar saints Narottama, Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda realized the greatness of *nāma-kīrtana*, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya. Narottama (sixteenth century A.D.) ushered the type of *kīrtana*, in the design of *dhruvapada-prabandha-gīti*. Govindadāsa Chakravurty (1583 A.D.), Rāy Basanta (1583 A.D.), Dvija Gaṅgārām, and others were also well-versed in classical music. They represented *padāvalī-kīrtana* (*kirtigāna* or *kīrtigāthā-gāna*) with *ālāpa* and *rāgas*, showing the intricate playing of the microtones (*śrutis*), tones (*svaras*), ancient scales (*grāmas*), ascending of the seven notes (*mūrcchanās*), time-measures (*tālas*), etc. Āchārya Narahari Chakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadās. He gave a description of them in the ninth chapter of his *Bhaktiratnākara* :

(क) वार वार प्रणमिया सवार चरणे ।
आलापे अद्भुत राग प्रकटकरणे ।।
रागिणी सहित राग मूर्तिमन्त कैला ।
श्र ति-स्वर-ग्राम-मूर्च्छनादि प्रकाशिला ।।

* * * *

नरोत्तम गणसह ताँरे प्रणमय ।
निवद्ध-गीतेर परिपाटि प्रचारय ।।

(ख) प्रभु-परिकरगण गुणेर आलय ।
गीत-नृत्य-वाद्ये विशारद अतिशय ।।

* * * *

3. Vide Rādhāgovinda Nāth : *Chaitanya-charitāmṛter Bhūmikā.*

गायक-सकले ये आलाप-वर्ण-रीते ।
आलपये नाना भाँति—उपमा कि दिते ॥
करिया आलाप राग प्रकट करय ।
कहिते कि—रागेर सोभाग्य अतिशय ॥
श्रुति-स्वर-ग्राम मूर्छना तालादि आर ।
गमक-प्रभेद प्रकाशये चमत्कार ॥
विविध प्रवन्धे तालभेद प्रचारे ।
अन्येर कि कथा—गन्धर्वेर गर्व हरे ॥[4]

That is, (a) 'they (singers) began to manifest the melody or *rāga* with *ālāpa* repeatedly bowing down to all. The *rāgas* with *rāgiṇīs*, *śrutis*, *svaras*, *melas*, and *mūrcchanās* were vividly manifested. * * Ṭhākur Narottama and his attendants began to propagate the *nibaddha* type of *kīrtana*, in a very accomplished way. (b) The Master (Śrī Chaitanya) and his followers were endowed with many qualities. They were efficient in *nṛtya, gīta* and *vādya* (dancing, singing and drumming). * * The singers began to represent *ālāpa* in various ways, according to its *śāstric* rules, and they were unparalleled. In this way they fully manifested the *rāgas*, together with microtones, notes, scale, *murcchanās*, and rhythm, etc. They used *gamaka* (curving of the tune) and different rhythms in different *prabandha* type of songs. It was so beautiful and accomplished that even the Gandharvas were no match to them'. From this it is evident that *kirtana* or *kirtana-prabandhagīti* was classical in its type.

It may be mentioned in this connection that some consider *padāvalī-kīrtana* as a folk song, or devotional *bhajan* as distinct from classical music. This under-estimation occurs, in our opinion, for want of true perspective of the history of *kīrtana* of Bengal. It has already been said that *kīrtana* i.e. *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is a pure type of *sūḍa-prabandha-gāna* of the post-Bharata classical music. Even the derivated and diminutive form of the *ḍhapa-kīrtana*, introduced by Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-Kān owes its origin directly to classical *prabandha-gāna* and *pāñchālī*. So all kinds of controversy

4. Vide भक्तिरत्नाकर published by the Gauḍīya-Maṭh, p. 500.

regarding the purity and aristrocracy of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal are baseless.

After Ṭhākur Narottama, many learned Vaiṣṇava savants enriched the domain of the *padagītis* and the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The name of Ghanaśyāma-Narahari is worth-mentioning in this connection. Naraharidās lived in the early eighteenth century A.D. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century A.D. the classical music was cultured profusely all over Greater Bengal, and we get its genuine proof from the book *Gītaprakāśa* of Orissa. It is believed that the book, *Gītaprakāśa,* was composed by (Svāmī) Kṛṣṇadāsa,[5] probably in the first half of the sixteenth century, i.e. during the time of Rāy Rāmānanda and Pratāprudra-Dev or Pratāparudra-Gajapati (1504-1582 A.D.). Harinārāyaṇa Sūri, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva, and poet Nārāyaṇa were mostly indebted to the book *Gītaprakāśa*, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva of Khemuṇḍi (a place in Southern Orissa) composed the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, and it was written, says K. C. Pattanāik, in the seventeenth century A.D. From the family chronology (*krusināmā*) of the Khemuṇḍi Rāj family, it is known that Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva belonged to this family. Many other books on music were written at this time, and the *Gītaprakāśa* was certainly a help and an inspiration to them. Narahari's musical chapter in the *Bhaktiratnākara*, and his *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha* and *Gītachandrodaya* prove the trend culture of classical music in the eighteenth century. Narahari learnt *dhruvapada* from the noted Hindu and Muslim *Ustāds* of that time. Bharatachandra Roy (probably 1703 A.D.), Kavirañjan Rāmprasād Sen (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) of Hālisahara, Ayodhyā Goswāin or Āju Goswāin (contemporary to Rāmprasād Sen), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (probably 1741-1742 A.D.), and others were regarded as the noted composers and musicians of that time. Different *nibaddha-kāvya-gītis*, and specially the *pāñchālī* and other *ālī-prabandha-gītis* with different

5. It is to note that there were different Kṛṣṇadās, but Kṛṣṇadās, the teacher of Svāmī Haridās, was a different man.

intricate *tālas* and *ālāpas* used to be cultured at that time. They were mostly composed in French-Sanskrit mixed Bengali. The *kheyāl* type of music was not so current at that time in Bengal. Kavi Rāmprasād was a true lover of traditional classical music, and his songs were appreciated by all classes of people, including the classicalists.

Next to Rāmprasād Sen, Rāmanidhi Gupta (1741-1742—1838-1839 A.D.)[6] created a new and novel type of *tappā*. In his early age, he learned classic-Bengali songs from some native *Ustāds*. At the age of 35 he went to Chāprā district with a service, and there he mastered pure type of *tappā* from some Muslim *Ustāds*. In his ripe age he came back to Calcutta, and composed hundreds of Bengali classical *tappās*, which were new and novel in form, and unique in presentation. He created a new sensation and zeal amongst the lovers of classical music of Bengal at that time.

Beside, the names of Śrīdhar Kathak, Kālimirjā (Kālidas Chattopadhyay), Mohanchandra Basu and others are worth-mentioning in the fields of *tappā*, *ākhrāi*, *half-ākhrāi*, *dāḍākavi* etc. Kālimirjā was very popular and creative in his art of *tappā*. Mohanchand Basu can be said to be the creator or innovator of *half-ākhrāi* in Bengal. Besides him, Rāmchānd Mukhopadhyay of Jorasaṅkha and Rāmlochan Basāk of Pāthuriāghātā earned reputation as the best exponents of *dāḍākavi-gāna*. In fact, the beginning of the 19th Century was memorable for the best recitals of *tappā*, *ākhrāi*, *half-ākhrāi*, etc.

The history of the culture of classical music in Bengal became glorified with the advent of the Muslim *Ustāds* from Delhi and Āgrā, who began to settle in Bengal during 1759 to 1806 A.D., when Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam II (formerly Āli Gauhar) was on the throne of Delhi. Shāh Ālam was a man of weak personality, and when on the 12th August, 1765, he granted by a *firmān* the *Diwāni* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company, he became the titular Moghul

6. Some ascribe the date 1741-1834 A.D.

Emperor living under the protection of the British. It was, therefore, impossible for him to carry on the musical legacy of his glorious predecessor. The noted musicians who belonged mostly to the Tānsen school (*gharāṇā*), began to leave Delhi and sought refuge in different Durbārs of Muslim Nawābs and Hindu kings and Zemindārs of Oudh, Betiyā, Rewā and other places. It is said that some of the descendants of Tānsen went eastward, and the Senī *Ustāds*, belonging to Tānsen's disciple line, went to difierent parts of Rājputānā. The British Rāj was not interested in preserving the traditional art and culture of Indian music, so they were indifferent to patronizing the musicians. Many of the *Ustāds* took shelter in the Durbār of the king of Banaras, and some of them came to Bengal, and settled in Kṛṣṇanagar, Viṣṇupur, Murśidābād and other places. In the seventeenth-eighteenth century A.D., Bāhādur Khān of the Senī school was invited by Rājā Raghunāth Singh II (1752-1784) of Viṣṇupur (Bāṅkurā) and was appointed as his court-musician. The Pākhawāj player Peer Bux came with him and was appointed in the Durbār. Gadādhara Chakravurty, Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattāchārya, Nitāi Nājir, and Vṛndāvan Nājir were the first disciples of *Ustād* Bāhādur Khān. All of them mastered *dhruvapada* of the Senī school of Delhi. After Bāhādur Khān, his favourite student Gadādhara Chakravurty, and afterwards Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattāchārya became teachers, and Viṣṇupur was regarded as the second Delhi in Bengal. Śyāmāchānd Gosvāmī, Anantalāl Chakravurty, Dvārikānāth, Kṛṣṇanāth and Vrijamādhava were the students of Gadādhar Chakravurty. Kṣetramohan Gosvāmī, Jadu Bhatta, Keśavlāl Chakravurty, Rāmakeśav, Dinabandhu and Anantalāl Banerji, the father of Saṅgitāchārya Gopeśvara Banerji, were the students of Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattāchārya. All of them cultured the Senī style of *dhruvapada*. But gradually that style was replaced by the style of Śadāraṅga of Tānsen School. Sadāraṅga's real name was Niyāmat Khān, and 'sadāraṅga' was the title, conferred upon him by Muhammed Shah Raṅgile. Niyāmat Khān belonged to the Tānsen line, and was

an expert in both *dhruvapada* and *veeṇā* playing. Whatever may be the story current about him, he composed many classical *vilambita kheyāl* type of songs on the pattern of the *dhruvapada.* He was really the man who made the *kheyāl* type of music of India rich, aristocratic and popular. Āmir Khusrau and Sultān Hussain Sharkī of Jaunpur created an impetus in the *kheyāl* type of songs before Sadāraṅga or Niyāmat Khān. Most of the musicians of Viṣṇupur learned *dhruvapada* from the *Ustāds* of Gwālior, Rewā, Betiyā, and other places of Rājputānā and Bihār. Bengal was then regarded as a seat of culture of classical music.

During the early nineteenth century, Chinsurā, in the Hooghly district, was noted for its culture of classical music. *Ustād* Mān Khān came to Chinsurā in 1806, and Rāmchandra Seal took lessons on *dhruvapada* from him. He was an expert in both *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl,* so he taught his disciple Rāmchandra both the types of music. Rāmchandra Seal was the Dewān of Messrs Palmer & Co., so he had to go to Murśidābād from time to time. Murśidābād was at that time one of the seats of culture of classical music. Baḍe Miāṅ, Has-su-Khān, Hardu-Khān, Hirā and Bul-bul were the famous musicians of that time. Rāmchandra used to invite them to Chinsurā and thus he created an inspiration among the people of that place. He was acquainted with Kṛṣṇānanda Vedavyāsa, the well-known compiler of *Rāga-kalpadruma.* Mahārājā Bharatchandra of Kṛṣṇanagar used to invite Rāmchandra to his Durbār. Mahārājā himself was very fond of classical music, and many Muslim *Ustāds* were often invited in his Kṛṣṇanagar Durbār. Gopāl Chandra Pāṭhak, Parāṇa Mukherjee and Jaladhar Mukherji were the students of Rāmchandra. Rāmkṛṣṇa Pāl, who mastered the *khāṇḍārvānī dhrupada,* and musicians like Rāmakānāi Mukherji and Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Chatterji were contemporaneous to Rāmchandra Seal.

It is said that *kheyāl* (Hindusthānī) was first introduced in Bengal, in the early nineteenth century. Kānāilāl Chakravurty and Mādhavlāl Chakravurty of Viṣṇupur, (Bāṅkurā) first

learned *kheyāl* from Mohammed Khān of Sadāraṅga's disciple line, and they introduced this style in Viṣṇupur. Rājā Madan Mohan Siṅgh was then the Ruler of Viṣṇupur, and he encouraged them in the introduction of *kheyāl,* together with *dhruvapada.* But there is a difference of opinion regarding the first introduction of *kheyāl* in the soil of Bengal.

In the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., Calcutta became one of the chief centres of the culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jatīndra Mohan Tagore and Mahārājā Sir Sourīndra Mohan Tagore of Jorāsāṅko (Calcutta) were great patrons of classical music. Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī was appointed as a teacher of music in their palace. Peer Bux, the *pākhoyājī* of Viṣṇupur also lived some times in Calcutta, and made some students. All the top ranking Muslim and Hindu *Ustāds* of that time were invited to the Tagore castle. The names of Maulā-Bux of Barodā, Hanumān Dāsjī and Kānāilāl Ḍherī of Gayā may be mentioned among those, who used to be invited. Maulā-Bux became the family teacher of the Tagores. Śrīmatī Prativā Devī, the wife of Āśutoṣ Choudhury and others became his students. *Ustād* Hanumān Dāsjī was an expert in both theory and practice of music, and he was very favourite to Sir S. M. Tagore. The name of his worthy son, Śoniji is worth mentioning in this connection. Śoniji was noted for the colourful playing of the harmonium.

Sir S. M. Tagore established the *Saṅgīta-samāja* in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, with the co-operation of some zamindars of Bengal, namely, Mahārājā of Nātore, Āśutoṣ Choudhury, Manmatha Mitra, poet Rabīndranāth Tagore, and others. They provided many Muslim *Ustāds* in their Samāj. Time to time *jalsās* (music functions) were arranged for giving scope and opportunity to the students and public at large. Sir S. M. Tagore wrote many valuable books on music with the help of Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī and others. Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī also wrote two noted books : *Saṅgītasāra* and *Yantrakṣetra-dīpikā.*

At that time Bengal had produced many talented *Ustāds* of

classical music. The renowned Jadu Bhatta of Viṣṇupur mastered *dhruvapada* of Senī school in his early age from Gadādhara Chakravurty. In the opinion of Rabīndranāth Tagore, the renowned Jadu Bhatta's *dhruvapada* was purely of *khāṇḍārvānī* style. Afterwards he went to the Durbār of Veerchandra Mānikya Bāhādur of Tipperā, and there he learned *veeṇā* and *rabāb* from Ustād Kāsem Āli Khāṅ, a descendant of Miāṅ Tānsen. He also mastered *surabāhār* and *pākhawāj*. Jadu Bhatta came back to Calcutta, and was sometimes a music teacher in the Tagore family.

Among other musicians of Viṣṇupur, Anantalāl Banerji, Keśavlāl Chakravurty, Rāmakeśava and Dinabandhu Gosvāmī were the students of Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattāchārya. Rāmaśaṅkara's son Rāmakeśava was engaged as the music teacher in the house of Chātu Bābu and Lātu Bābu, the renowned Zemindars of Calcutta. Dinabandhu was an expert in *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl* and *ṭhumri*. His son Gaṅgānārāin Gosvāmī was a finished musician, and he took service in the palace of the Mahārājā of Mymensiṅgh.

Rādhikāprasād Gosvāmī first learned *dhruvapada* from Anantalāl Banerji, and then he went to the Durbār of Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore of Betiyā. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore was a passionate lover of classical music. He mastered *dhruvapada* from Muslim *Ustāds*, and composed many songs of great æsthetic and poetical value. The name of Naval Kiśore should be mentioned in this connection. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore had a number of noted students, and among them were: Śivanārāyaṇa Miśra, Guruprasād Miśra and others. Rādhikāprasād Gosvāmī also learned *dhruvapada* and *kheyāl* from them. Rādhikāprasād's father Jagatchānd Gosvāmī was a renowned *mṛdaṅga* player.

The name of Aghore Nāth Chakravurty of Harinābhi (*24 parganās*) and Vāmācharan Banerji of Behālā are worth-mentioning. Aghore Nāth Chakravurty learned *dhruvapada* from Ustād Āli-Bux and Ustād Daulat Khāṅ of Punjab. He also mastered *kheyāl* and classico-Bengali songs.

Ustād Rasūl-Bux first came as a Durbār musician at the Kṛṣṇanagar Rājbāti. Afterwards he was appointed as a music teacher in the house of Rāmadās Gosvāmī zemindar of Serāmpore, Hooghly. Rāmadas Gosvāmī learned *dhruvapada* first from Rasūl-Bux, and then from Ustād Ūjir-Khāṅ and Yu-suf-Khāṅ. Harinārāyaṇa Mukherji of Banaras and Nemāi Charan Ghoṣāl of Serampore were the students of Rāmadās Gosvāmī. Harinarayaṇa Mukherji afterwards learned *dhruvapadas* from other Hindu and Muslim *Ustāds* of that time.

Besides Calcutta, Mymensiṅgh was a seat of culture of classical music. Mahārājā Sūryakānta Āchārya, zemindar of Mymensiṅgh, used to invite all the noted Muslim *Ustāds*, who happened to come to Calcutta. He was a lover and patron of classical music. After him, the name of Jagat Kiśore Āchārya of Muktāgāchā is worth mentioning. He also preserved the traditional culture of classical music in the Mymensiṅgh District.

The name of Harendra Kiśore Roychoudhury of Rāmgopālpur should be mentioned in this connection. He was a noted *tabal* player. He mastered *tabal* first from Prasanna Kumār Baṇik of Dacca, and then from Maulavī-Rām of Banaras. Āsām-Gourīpore was a seat of culture of classical music, during the time of zemindar, Prabhāt Chandra Baḍuā. Dacca was also a chief centre, and the name of Baṇik and Basāk families are specially worth mentioning in this connection. Bhagavān Dās was a great *setārī* of Dacca. During the Jhulan festival, renowned Hindu and Muslim *Ustāds* were invited to Dacca every year, and used to give demonstrations of classical music in different temples. The Nawāb of Dacca was a patron of classical music.

Bābu Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji, Zemindar of Gobardaṅga, was a lover of classical music. Gopāl Chandra Pāṭhak of Chinsurā used to visit him. The celebrated *tabal* players Tārāprasād Roy and Golām Ābbās were engaged in the Gobardaṅga Rājbāti. Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji used to invite many *Ustāds* to Gobardaṅga house, and created an atmosphere

for the culture of highway music. Girijā Bābu of that place was a famous player of *surabāhār*.

Jayakṛṣṇa Mukherji, zemindar of Uttarpārā, was a patron of classical music. Lālgolā was another notable centre. Under the patronage of Rājā Rāo Jagadindra Nārāyaṇ Rāy-Bāhādur, many musicians had opportunity of getting training in classical music. The encyclopaedic work *Rāgakalpadruma* by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa was published under the patronage. Kṛṣṇānandajī got the inspiration of compiling this voluminous book, from the compilation of the monumental Bengali dictionary *Śabdakalpadruma*, under the patronage and inspiration of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta.

Nātore Rāj palace was a seat of culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jagadīndra Nāth Roy of Nātore was a famous *Pākhawāj* player, and he invited from time to time, many of the Muslim and Hindu *Ustāds* in his Natore palace. His worthy descendants have also preserved their family tradition. Mahārājā Jogīndra Nāth Roy and his worthy sons are also the lovers of music.

Āgartalā was also a seat of culture of music. Rājā Beer-Vikram Bāhādur was very devoted to classical music. Ustād Enāyet Khāṅ, Ustād Ālāuddin Khāṅ, Ājim-Bux (*Tabaliā*), Śyām Pāṇḍe, Mazid Khāṅ and other *Ustāds* used to visit Āgartalā from time to time, and created an interest for classical music among the inhabitants there.

The name of Comillā (Tipperāh) may be noted in this connection. In 1919, Harihar Roy established a *Saṅgīta-Vidyāpīṭḥ* at Comillā. Comillā is also famous for its flute. The names of Birendra Nārāyaṇa and Gopendra Nārāyaṇa can be mentioned, who are experts in reproducing classical *rāgas* through flute. The name of the famous flute player Pānnālāl Ghosh can also be mentioned in this connection.

Now let us give a short sketch of trends of classical music in Bengal in the twentieth century. Sir Jatīndra Mohan Tagore and Sir Sourīndra Mohan Tagore had already created the fountainhead of classical music in Calcutta, and Maharṣi

Devendra Nāth Tagore, Hemendranāth, Somendranāth, Jyotirīndranāth, Satyendranāth, Dvijendranāth, Rabīndranāth, Dinendranāth and others kept that fountain flowing in its pristine glory. Viṣṇu Chakravurty, Ramāpati Banerji, Rāj Chandra Roy of Śāntipur, including Jadu Bhatta and others were music teachers of the Tagores. The Tagore house was mostly influenced by the musicians of Viṣṇupur. The Muslim *Ustāds* of the Senī school had already settled in different parts of Bengal. From the beginning of the twentieth century upto 1945, we find that various schools and institutions of Hindusthānī classical music, were established in different parts of Bengal. Besides the classical type of music, Bengal produced different types of classico-folk and folk music. The names of *bāul*, *jhumur*, *pāñchālī*, *bhātiyālī*, *jāri*, *sāri*, *gambhīrā*, *kavigāna*, *dāḍākavi*, *half-ākhḍāi*, *tarjā*, etc. are worth recording.

The music consciousness of Bengal is now becoming more sensitive and constructive. Research works in the field of theory and history of music are developing day by day. Books on music and musical instruments with critical notes and notations are coming out in numbers. The future prospect of Bengal in musical sphere is undoubtedly bright and glorious.

II

Now let us draw an outline of the picture of music literature of Bengal, along with some of the important non-musical books, which furnish us with music material. We shall divide our subject of survey into two groups 'A' and 'B', of which 'A' will represent the first-hand music literature, and 'B' the non-musical books, supplying materials of music. It is needless to mention that by music literature of Bengal we mean to say the music literature of undivided Greater Bengal, which was the glory of Indian dominion.

A

The first-hand Music Literature of Bengal

1. NĀTHAGĪTIS : They were written by Gorakṣanāth, Chouraṅgīnāth, Mīnanāth, and others. They were written mostly during the rule of the Pāla Dynasty from eighth-ninth century A.D. All the *gītis* are in *avahaṭṭhadohā* form, and can be regarded as the *prabandha-gānas* like later *charyāgītis*. The following Bengali literature of the *nātha-gītis* are available. MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī said about the Nāthism : "But there were other forms of religions which the Buddhist community absorbed within itself. One of these is the *Nātha-mārga* or Nāthism. * * Thus the Nāthism of Matsyendra arose outside Buddhism, but it was at last absorbed into it. On the other hand, Ramana Vajra was a Buddhist monk of the Vajrayāna school, but when he became a Nātha, he became Gorakṣanāth, and was regarded as a heretic by Buddhists, so Gorakṣa's Nāthism was originally within Buddhism, but it was not incorporated into it." It is evident that the songs of the Nātha-Yogīs (*nātha-gītis*) were no other than the *gāthās* or *gānas* of the Buddhists, though the religious and spiritual practices of the Nātha Yogīs were different from the Vajrayānī Buddhists, to some extent.

(a) *Māṇikchandrer Gāna*—Collected by Sir George A. Grierson (vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874).
(b) *Mīnachetana*—Written by Śyāmadās Sen.
(c) *Govindachandra-Gīta*—Written by Durlav Mullick.
(d) *Gorakṣavijaya*—Written by Fayzullāḥ.
(e) *Maināmatir Gāna* or *Gopichandrer Pāñchālī*—Written by Bhavānī Dās.
(f) *Gopichandrer Gāna*—Written by Viśveśvara Bhattāchārya.
(g) *Gopichandrer Sanyāsa*—Written by Sukkur Mohammed, Dacca, 1332 B.S.

2. CHARYĀPADAS—Written by Śavarī-pā, Kāṇu-pā, Hāḍi-pā, Lui-pā, Virū-pā, Saraha and others. Eighty-four Sahajiyā or Vajrayānī Buddhist Āchāryas composed and collected the *padas* or *gānas*, during 950-1200 A.D. The actual language of the *charyā* and *vajra padas* was *gauḍa-vaṅga* or *śaurasenī-apabhraṁśa*. They were collected and published in book forms, namely : (a) *Bauddha-gāna-O-Dohā* by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī (published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta) ; (2) *Charyāpada* by Prof. Maṇīndranāth Basu (published by the University of Calcutta) ; (c) *Charyāpada* (Eng.), edited by Dr. P. C. Bāgchī (published by the Calcutta University) ; (d) *Charyāpada*, edited by Dr. Sukumār Sen ; (e) *Charyāpada*, edited by Dr. Śaśībhūṣan Dāsgupta ; (f) *Vaṅga-Sāhityer-Kathā* by Dr. H. Sahidullāḥ, etc.

Nearly six hundred years before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya (1485-1533 A.D.), the Bauddha Siddhāchāryas used to compose the *padas* (*gānas*), and sang them with various classical *rāgas*, *tālas* and *dhātus*. The names of the *rāgas* were : *pata-mañjarī*, *gabḍā*, *aru* (*māru* ?), *guñjarī* (*gurjarī* ?), *devakrī*, *deśakha* (*devaśakha*), *bhairavī*, *kāmoda*, *dhānaśī* (*dhānaśrī*), *rāmakrī*, *varāḍī*, *śivarī* (*sāvarī* or *śrāverī*), *mallārī*, *mālasī* (*mālaśrī*), *malāddi* (?), *kahṇu-guñjarī* (*kāhṇu-gurjarī* ?), *vaṅgāla* or *vāṅgālā*, etc.

The Bauddha Sannyāsins i.e. Bhikṣus or Śramanas composed many *gāthās*, and their compositions (*sāhitya*) were known as the *gāthā-bhāṣā*. Some are of the opinion that the language of the *charyā* and *vajra-gītis* were mixed Sanskrit. Some differ from it. In the *Dākārṇava*, we get the names of the seventy-six Siddhāchāryas, out of eighty-four. They were known as the Siddhas of Tibet. They were, in truth, Bauddha Sahajiyās, and they came from different parts of India irrespective of caste and creed. It is said that the *nātha-dharma* was a part of Buddhist religion. It has already been said that Nāthāchāryas composed many *padas*, i.e. *gānas* with different *rāgas* and *tālas*.

The word '*charyā*' connotes the idea of behaviour (*ācharaṇa*).

The words *tapascharyā*, *natacharyā*, etc. evolved from it. The male and female Buddhist mendicants composed the *charyā* and *vajra gītis*, as part and parcel of their religious and spiritual practices. In the Vedic period, we come across the *gāthā-nāraśaṁsīs*, which were similarly sung by the side of the sacrificial altars. In different religious functions, the *charyā* and *vajra-gāthās* were sung. They were mainly sung in the Tāntric, *maṇḍala-chakra* of the Buddhist monks, of the Vajrayānī sect. It is said that the *maṇḍala-chakra*, was similar to the *yoginī chakra* of the Hindu or Brāhmaṇya Tantra. In the *maṇḍala-chakra* Vajradhara-Heruka was entertained by the *charyā* and *vajra-gītis*, though *charyā* was different from *vajra-gīti*, to some extent, in their forms and applications. The *charyā* was generally composed of four (complete) parts (*dhātus*), and the word '*dhruvapada*' was mentioned in either the third or fourth part. Sometimes it was mentioned in the second part.

The object of the *charyā* and *vajra gītis* was to attain the '*mahāsukha*' (greatest happiness and bliss), in the state of Sahaja. Advayavajra and Munidatta say in their commentaries that, as the language of the *charyā* and *vajra-gītis* used to connote double meaning, it was known as the *sandhyā-bhāṣā*, or *sandhyā-saṅketa*, or *sandhyā-vachana*, which means the suggestive (*ābhi-prāyika*) language. As for example, the commentators say : (a) यथा वालैः सन्ध्याभाषमजनदभिर्मनपवनादिनिरोधमाश्रयः कल्पितः ; (b) बारुणीति सन्ध्यावचनेन * * ; (c) दुलि सन्ध्यासंकेते बोद्धव्यम्। Siddha Dārika mentioned the musical instruments like *veeṇā* and *veṇu* :

फोईरे वंशा वाजिरे वीणा
अनह सादेँ तिहअन लोना ॥

From this, it is evident that *veeṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛdaṅga* accompanied the *charyā* and *vajra-gītis* of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas.

Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhī are of the opinion that *charyā* and *rāhaḍī* types were included in the category of the *vipra-kīrṇa prabandha-gīti*, and its *jāti* was *tārāvalī*. Kallināth elaborately deals with the structure and application of the *charyā-prabandhagāna*, in its commentary, *Kalānīdhi*, on the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*.

Now, the correct forms of the *rāgas*, that were used in the *charyā* and *vajra-gītis*, can be determined by the melodic patterns or the forms of the *rāgas*, that are depicted in the *Rāgataranginī* by Lochana-Kavi, the *Saṅgīta-pārijāta* by Paṇḍit Ahobala, and the *Hṛdayakautuka* by Hṛdayanārāyaṇadeva of the 16th-17th century A.D. It should be remembered that the standard scale, that was current during tenth-twelfth century A.D., has now been altogether changed.

Philosophy of the Charyāpada

It has been said that *charyās* are the *padas* or *gānas*, composed by the Siddhāchāryas, belonged to the Buddhist Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna. The great vehicle or *sādhanā-mārga* is known as Mahāyāna. Mahāyāna is consisted of two main *nayas*, *pāramitā* and *mantra*. *Naya* means *mata* or opinion (*vāda*). The followers of the *pāramitā-naya* laid stress on the Bauddha *dasabhūmi*, and they tried to transcend the limit of the *dasa-bhūma* for attaining the highest stage of spiritual *sādhanā*. The followers of the *mantra-naya* did not accept that path, they rather laid stress on *mudrā* and *maṇḍala*, and from this practice the tāntricism evolved in the Buddhist *sādhanā*. The followers of the *mantra-naya* were known as the Vajrayānists, which meant the Śūnyatāyāna, *Vajra* means *śūnyatā*, the positive existence of Nirvāṇa or *mukti*.

The Vajrayānists used to perform the *kriyāvidhi* which includes the worshipping of the deities, *mantra*, *maṇḍala* (mystic circle), *prāṇāyama*, *dhyāna*, etc. In Nepāl, another outshoot of Vajrayāna evolved, and that was the Kālachakrayāna. The followers of the Kālachakrayāna adopted the process of *prāṇāyama*, which means the control of *svasaprasvāsa* i.e. inward-going and outward-going breaths. By controlling breath, the Kālachakrayānists tried to transcend the cycle of the eternal time (*kāla*).

There evolved another method of Buddhist *sādhanā*, Sahajayāna, from which evolved afterwards the doctrine of *sahajiyā*.

Sahaja means an eternal immortal existence of truth and bliss, which can be called the Sahaja-Īśvara who shines above all the impurities of *māyā* or *avidyā*. The doctrine of *sahajyā* was mixed afterwards with the Vaiṣṇavism and Tantra. The Sahajiyās follow the crooked way (*bāṅkā-path*) i.e. quite different method than that of the Mahayānists and Vajrayānists. But the Siddhāchāryas said,

Ujure uju chādi mā jāhure vaṅka /
niyadi vohi mā jāhu re lāṅka //

That is, 'real Sādhaka should not adopt the crooked path, (of the Sahajayānists), but should follow the straight (*riju*) path. *Bodhi* is nearhand, so do not go to distant Laṅkā.' The word *uju-vāta* means *riju* or straight *vāta* or *patha*, and the *vaṅka-vāta* is the path of reasoning and profoundity as well as the path of *dhyāna-dhāraṇā-samādhi*, which are prescribed in the Yoga. The eternal bliss is the aim of the Yoga *sādhanā*, and the bliss attainted, is the *sahajānanda* or *mahāsukha*. But the Sahajiyās believe that there is an invisible *sahaja-sattva* or *sahajānanda* inside the physical body, and that immortal *sattvā* or Existence should be realized in the mortal frame, while living in the world.

The Sahajiyās believe in the doctrine of the *bodhichitta* which means *śūnyatā* combined with *karuṇā* which are similar to Śiva-Śakti-principle of the Hindu Tantra and Prajñā and Upāya of the Buddhist Tantra,—the Principles of subjectivity and objectivity. The *advayatattva* is known as the *bodhichitta* or *sahajasvarūpa*. The Sahajayānists adopt the process of *prāṇā-yama* i.e. controlling of *prāṇa-nāḍi* in the left side and the *apāna-naḍi* in the right side, and proceed to the middle path or *madhyagā-nāḍi* which is known as the *avadhuti* or *avadhutikā*. The processes of left going and right going create the *bhāva* or existence and *nirvāṇa* or non-existence i.e. creation and destruction. So the Sahajayānists follow the middle path or *madhyagā* or *ūrdhagā-nāḍi* which terminates in *avadhutikā* the *mahāsukha* or Sahajānanda. This Sahajānanda or the final goal is known as Vindu or Śiva, whereas Nāda is Śakti. The Vindu-Nāda-Tattva

is the *nivṛtti-pravṛtti-tattva* which creates *saṁsāra* or bondage, so a real Sahajiyā-Sādhaka transcends that dual phase of existence and process through the non-dual Mahāsukha or Sahajānanda. The *madhyagā* or *ūrdhagā* path is known as the *avadhūtimārga* or *sāmarasya-mārga* that promises real Truth or Ānanda. This supreme stage or state is known as the *advaya bodhichitta* or *mahāsukha.* The aim of the Buddhāchāryas was to attain the supreme stateless state which is neither *śūnyatā* nor *karuṇā*, but is *bodhichitta.*

3. DOHĀKOṢA : Written by Āchārya Saraha. Three *Dohākoṣas* are available, and they were composed in 1100-1150 A.D., in different metres like *prākṛt-avahaṭṭha, choupadī, paddhaḍī*, etc. They were sung in pure classical *rāgas* (vide *Bauddha-gāna O Dohā*, by MM. H. P. Śāstrī).

4. DAŚĀVATĀRA-CHARITA : Written by Kṣemendra. He probably flourished before 1200 A.D. Kavi Jayadeva was much influenced by this book.

5. GĪTAGOVINDA : Written by Ṭhākur Jayadeva of Kenduvilva, Birbhūm. It was composed in the early 1200 A.D. Pūjārī Gosvāmī, Rāṇā Kumbhā, Śaṅkara Miśra, Cherukuri Lakṣmindhara, Probodhānanda Sarasvatī (published by Haridāsa Dās), and others wrote commentaries on it, and have thrown light on the music portion. Besides, we find the mention of the following commentaries : *Anupodaya* by Anup-Siṅgha, *Gaṅgā* by Kṛṣṇadatta, *Gītagovinda-tilokottamā* by Hṛdayābharaṇa, *Gītagovinda-prabodha* by Rāmakānta, *Mādhurī* by Raṅganāth, *Tattva-dīpikā* by Rāma Roy, *Dīpikā* by Gopāla, *Padadyotanikā* by Nārāyaṇa-bhatta, *Pada-bhāvārtha-chandrikā* by Śrīkānta Miśra, *Padābhinaya-mañjarī* by Vāsudeva Vāchasundara, *Prakāśa-kaumudī* by Kavirāja Chaṇḍīdāsa, *Bhava-bhāvinī* by Udayanāchārya, *Ratnamālā* by Kamalākara, *Rasa-kadamva-kallolinī* by Bhagavata Dās, *Rasa-mañjarī* by

Śaṅkara-Miśra, *Saśilekhā* by Kṛṣṇadatta, *Śruti-rañjinī* by Lakṣmaṇa-Sūrī, *Sañjivanī* by Vanamālī Bhatta, *Sandeha-bhedikā* by Kumer Khāṅ, *Sarvāṅgasundarī* by Nārāyaṇa-dāsa, *Śrutisāra-rañjanī* by Tīrumal Rāj, *Sadānanda-govinda* by Rūpadeva Paṇḍit, *Sāradīpikā* by Jagaddhara, *Sāhitya-ratnamālā* by Śeṣa-Kamalākara, *Sāhitya-ratnākara* by Śeṣa-Ratnākara, *Suvodha* by Bharat Sen-Mullick. Besides them, the following commentators wrote commentaries on the *Gītagovinda*, and they are: Mānāṅka, Chidānanda-Bhikṣu, Dhṛtikār, Paramānanda, Pitāmvara, Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta, Vanamālī-Dās, Vṛhaspati-Miśra, Śālināth, Śukladvaja, Śrīharṣa, Bhāvāchārya, and others. It was first written in *prākṛt* language, and during the reign of the Sena Kings, it was changed into Bengali-Sanskrit language. It consists of twenty-four *gītis*, with twelve *rāgas* and five *tālas*.

Kavi Jayadeva was a great composer, poet, and musician. A Vaiṣṇava savant, Sanātana Gosvāmī said that he saw a memorable tablet attached in the gate of the Royal Council of Navadvīp, in which the following *śloka* was imprinted;

गोबर्द्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापति।

That is, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śarana, Dhoyī and Jaya-deva—these five scholars were in the Royal court of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena. In the glossary, *Vaiṣṇavatoshini* of the *Bhāga-vata*, it has been mentioned: '*Śrī Jayadeva-sahacharena mahā-rāja-Lakṣmaṇasena-mantrivarena umāptidharena*'. From this it is understood that Jayadeva was one of the Royal poet (*sabhā-kavi*) of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena. Dr. Sukumār Sen writes: "Jayadeva was a contemporary to Lakṣmaṇasena, *probably* a member of his court". We think that there must not be any doubt about it that Jayadeva was a court-poet of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena, the last Hindu king of Bengal.

Jayadeva lived in the middle or end of twelfth century A.D. His native place was Kendubilva (Kenduli) in the Bīrbhūm (ancient name Kāmakoti) district in West Bengal. The present name of Kendubilva is Jayadeva-kenduli. Jayadeva's father's

name was Bhojadeva and mother's name, Vāmādevī.[7] The poet married Padmāvatī. Pūjārī Gosvāmī, one of the commentators of the *Gītagovinda*, wrote : "*padmāvatī-charaṇa-chārana-chakravurty*" or "*tathā-nāmni Jayadeva-patnī*". Some hold that the name of the wife of Jayadeva was Rohiṇī. The followers of the Sahajiyā doctrine say that Rohiṇī was a *parakīyā*, and Kavi's real wife was Padmāvatī, who was well-versed in the arts of dance and music.

There are some controversies as regards the birth-place of Kavi Jayadeva. Some are of the opinion that Kavi Jayadeva came from Utkala or Orissā, and others hold that he was born in South India. But these conjectures are not correct, as Jayadeva was born in Bengal (i.e. in West Bengal, which is known as the *Raḍhadeśa*). In Sanskrit literature, we find two other Jayadevas, one of them was the composer of the *Chhandasūtra* and the other was the composer of the drama, *Prasanna-Rāghava*, and the book on rhetoric, *Chhandaloka*. Kavi Kalhana of Kāśmīr mentioned the name of this last Jayadeva in his Suktimuktāvalī in 1179 *śaka*. In the end of sixteenth century A.D., Shikhaguru Arjuna mentioned in his *Granthasāheb* the name of one Jayadeva who is practically unknown to history.

Jayadeva was greatly influenced by the Vaiṣṇava religion and was devoted to the doctrine of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva*). There is a controversy regarding Rādhā as the divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the scholars say that even the word Rādhā as a consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is not used in the *Bhāgavat*. But this not the subject to be discussed in connection with the life of Kavi Jayadeva. But we find various references of divine love-sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Jayadeva's celebrated song books (*gītikāvya*), the *Gītagovinda*. In the *Kavindra-vachana-samucchaya* (compiled sometime before 1100 A.D. by a Buddhist poet of Bengal), we find the poems

7. Some say that Jayadeva's mother's name was Rāmādevī or Rādhādevī. But these suggestions are not correct, because from many sources it is known that Jayadeva's mother's name was Vāmādevī.

on the amors of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which are grouped under the section *Asati-vrajya* (i.e. love affairs of unchaste women). Jayadeva too admitted this fact in one of his opening verses of the *Gītagovinda* but yet he mentioned all through his *Mahākāvya* the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa together with their other-worldly divine personality. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that Jayadeva's songs or *gītikāvyas* of the *Gītagovinda* "exerted the greatest influence in the development of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Mithilā and Bengal".

Jayadeva composed the religio-mystical songs of the *Gītagovinda* in Sanskrit-Bengali, "but their rhythm and rhyme belong to Apabhraṁśa poetry". Dr. Sen said that just before the Turkī impact, during the reign of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena, the country offered the last and most important combination to neo-classical literature which is Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda.* "By injecting the tenderness and mellinfluence of the popular musical lyric into the strong frame of Sanskrit poetry, Jayadeva made the last attempt at its resurrection".

While discussing about Jayadeva, we cannot avoid the discussion about his memorial work, *Gītagovinda-padagāna*, which is known as the *Aṣṭapadī*. It can be recognised as the richest and finest *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-kāvya* which represents the highest primal æsthetic quality of Indian sentiments. Muni Bharata described *śṛṅgārarasa* as the *ādi-rasa* which causes the origin of the universe with its animate and inanimate objects, and it brings *nirveda* or renunciation. The general categorical name of literary composition of the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* is *prabandha*, which means bound with six limbs (*aṅgas*). The *Gītagovinda* contains soft and fluid syllabic scheme of continuous sweet narrative and poetic forms and soothing meters that charm all lovers of poetry and music.

Generally we find in old Bengali songs the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu or Śiva-Śakti legends or some mystic and ritualistic elements of esoteric cults. In the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* of Jayadeva, we clearly mark the mention of divine sportive play (*līlā*) of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa as a means of worship and devotional exercise

(*sādhanā* or *upāsanā*) in twofold ways, known as *aiśvarya* (richness) and *mādhurya* (beauty) the form of realization of different æsthetic sentiments (*rasasvadana*). Besides, in the *Gītagovinda*, we not only find the scheme of *nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda*, but also that of *upāsya-upāsaka-bheda* which mark the distinctive character of the song pieces. So we find that not only all the Chaitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas regard the *Gītagovinda* merely as a poetical composition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work and it in term of *Bhaktirasa-śāstra*.

The names of the twelve *rāgas* are : *mālava-gauḍa, gurjarī, vasanta, rāmakrī* or *rāmakirī, karṇāta, deśākha, deśa-varāḍī, goṇḍakirī, mālava, bhairavī, vibhāsa,* and *varāḍī*, and the names of the five *tālas* are ; *rūpaka, nissāra, yati, ekatālī* and *aṣṭatāla.* Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī cites in his commentary, two new *tālas, manṭha* and *prati-manṭha*, but has not mentioned about the *nissāra tāla*. In some of the editions of the *Gītagovinda*, the *rāga, karṇāta* has been replaced by *kedāra*. Now, let us see how the *rāgas*, current during the time of Jayadeva (early 1200 A.D.), can be deciphered for their use in the present time.

We know that the basic standard scale (*śuddha-ṭhāta*) of the ancient time was quite different from that of the present Hindusthānī system. According to Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya (14th-15th century A.D.), the basic *rāgas* were 15, but Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) accepts 20 basic scales. Both of them take *mukhārī* as the standard scale (*śuddha ṭhāta*) : 'सर्वेषु रागमेलेषु मुखारिमेल आदिमः'। The melodic form of the *mukhārī* was : 'sa *ri* ga ma pa *dha* ni', which coincides with modern *kāphī*, to some extent. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) said : 'मुखारीति मुखमृच्छति प्राप्नोतीति'। The word '*mukha*' means prime, and therefore, *mukhārī* connotes the idea of prime *rāga*. But, according to Lochana-Kavi (17th century A.D.), the standard scale *bhairavī* is possessed of all the sharp notes : 'शुद्धा सप्तस्वराः रम्या वादनीयाः प्रयत्नतः', and it corresponds to : 'sa ri *ga* ma pa dha *ni*/sa' of the present Hindusthānī system of music. According to Lochana-Kavi, the melodic forms of the basic *rāgas* are :

1. *Bhairavī* = sa, ri, ga (flat), ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).

2. *Toḍī* = sa, ri (flat), ga (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
3. *Gaurī* = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni.
4. *Karṇāta* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
5. *Kedāra* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
5. *Imana* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha, ni.
7. *Sāraṅga* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, ni (flat), ni.
8. *Megha* = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, ni (flat), ni.
9. *Pūrvī* = sa, ri, ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, ni (flat), ni.
10. *Dhānaśrī* = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha (flat), ni.
11. *Mukhārī* = sa, ri, ma (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
12. *Dīpaka* = no definition has been given by Lochana.

Regarding *gaurī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that the *rāga* is possessed of ri and dha (flat), and ga and ni (sharp) ; it is penta-heptatonic, and the melodic form of it is like that of the *Taraṅgiṇī* of Lochana. The ancient form of the *gaurī* coincides with that of the present form of *bhairavī* (North), and *māyāmalavagaula* (South). Regarding the *rāga, guṇḍakrī*, or *guṇakrī*, or *guṇakirī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that it is possessed of ri and dha (flat), with ga and ni (dropped), and therefore, it is penta-pentatonic. Sometimes *guṇakrī* is known as hexatonic. Regarding the *rāga, rāmakrī*, or *rāmakirī*, or *rāmakelī*, Ahobala said that it is possessed of ri (flat), ga (sharp), ma (more sharp or *tīvra*), dha (flat), and ni (sharp), and ma and ni are dropped in the ascent.

Regarding the *rāga, dhanyāśikā, dhānaśrī*, or *dhānasī*, Paṇḍit Somanāth said that the *rāga* is penta-heptatonic, and is possessed of ga (flat), ma (*tīvra*), and ni (flat), and, therefore, its melodic form is sa, ri, ga (flat), ma (*tīvra*), pa, (dha), ni (flat)/sa. Lochana also accepts this form, and it is included in the *dhānaśrī-mela*. According to Somanāth, it is included in the *śrīrāga-mela*, and its ri and dha are left out in the ascent. Regarding the *rāga, āśāvarī*, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that it is pentatonic in the ascent (ga being dropped), and heptatonic in the descent. The melodic form of the *āśāvarī* is therefore : sa, ri, ma, pa, dha (flat) / sa—sa, ni (flat), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga (flat), ri/sa. The *rāga, sāverī* (also *srāverī*), said Ahobala,

is included in the *bhairavī-mela*, and, therefore, its melodic form is : sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), sa—sa, ni, dha (flat). pa, ma, ga, ri (flat)/sa. Regarding the *rāga*, *bhupālī* (or *bhupāla*), Ahobala said that it is the *rāga* of the morning, its ascent and descent are : sa, ri (flat), ga, pa, dha (flat), sa—sa, dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), sa. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya differed from Paṇḍit Ahobala and said that the ascent and the descent of the *bhupālī* is : sa, ri, ga (flat), pa, dha (flat)—sa, dha (flat), pa, ga (flat), ri/sa. Regarding the *rāga*, *gurjarī*, Puṇḍarika Viṭhṭhala said that it is included in the *mālava-gauḍa-mela*, which coincides with the *rāga*, *bhairavī* of the modern system, and, therefore, its melodic form is : sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni—sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Paṇḍit Somanāth was of the same opinion. Lochana-Kavi included the *gurjarī* in the *gaurī-mela*, and its melodic form is like that of the modern *bhairavī-ṭhāta*.

Paṇḍit Ahobala described *mallāra* in two different ways : one, *mallāra* (ga and ni dropped), and the other, *mallārī* of the *gaurī-mela*. The modern form of the *mallārī* is, therefore, sa, ri (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat)—sa (of the high octave), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Again the ancient melodic form of *nata* or *nāta* or *natta*, according to Rāmāmatya, Puṇḍarika and Somanāth, is : sa, ri (=ga, possessed of three microtonal units=ga-flat), ma (*laghu*=ga-sharp), ma (*śuddha*), pa, ni, sa (of the high octave and *laghu*), which corresponds to the present Hindusthānī form : sa, ga (flat), ga (sharp), ma, pa, ni (flat) and sa (of the high octave).

Let me mention the learned article on *Gītagovinder Gīta* (Beng.) by my scholarly friend, Sureś Chandra Chakravurty, Saṅgītaśāstrī, to make the matter clear. He is also of the opinion that the melodic forms of the *rāgas* have considerably been changed, and they should be carefully represented according to the forms, current in the present Hindusthānī system of music. He investigates into *rāgas* as follows :

1. *Gurjarī* : According to Lochana or Hṛdayanārāyaṇa, it is included in the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, that coincides with the

modern *Bhairava-ṭhāta*, possessed of *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* flat. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of the *rāga*, *gurjarī*, in his *Hṛdaya-kautuka*, as : sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/sa, dha (flat), pa, ga, re (flat)/sa.

2. *Deśa-varāḍī* ; Lochana and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa did not mention this *rāga*. We think that *varāḍī* and *varātī* are one and the same *rāga*. Mataṅga (5th-7th century) and Pārśva-deva (9th-11th century) described different types of the *varāṭī* in their works. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) gave the melodic form of the *śuddha-varātī* as : sa, re (flat), ga (flat), ma (*tīvra*), pa, dha (flat), ni. But the melodic form of the *deśa-varāḍī* or *deśa-varātī* is different from that of the *śuddha-varātī*, to some extent.

3. *Vasanta* : Lochana includes this *rāga* in the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa gave the melodic form of the *vasanta* as : sa, ma, sa, ni, sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa.

4. *Rāmakrī* or *Rāmakirī* : It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of this *rāga* as : sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ga, ma, ga, ri (flat), / sa.

5. *Mālava-gauḍa* : It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*. *Mālava-gauḍa* and *mālava-gaula* are the same *rāga*.

6. *Karṇāta* : According to Lochana, 'ni' is flat and all other notes are sharp. It coincides with the modern *rāga* *khāmbāj*. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of this *rāga* as : sa, ga, ma, ma, ga, re, sa/ṇi, sa, ri, sa ; ri, ga, ri, sa/sa, sa, sa, sa, ri, sa, ṇi, sa, sa, sa, re, sa/ni (flat), dha, pa, ma, ma, ma, pa, ma, pa, dha, ni, (flat), sa ; dha, ni (flat), pa, ma, ma, ga, ri / sa.

7. *Deśakha* : It is the *rāga* of the *megha-saṁsthāna*, and it appeared before as the modern form of the *vṛndāvanī-sāraṅga*, though the note *gāndhāra* is used in it. In the *Hṛdaya-kautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ri, ma, pa, ma, sa / ni (flat), pa, ma/pa, ri, ga, ma, ri / sa.

8. *Goṇḍakrī* or *goṇḍakirī* : It is the *rāga* of the *gaurī-*

saṁsthāna. In the *Kautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ri (flat) ; ri (flat), ma ; ma, pa ; pa, sa, sa, sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ma, ri (flat), sa, sa ; ri (flat), ma, ri (flat), sa. If the note, *niṣāda* is left out, the form of the *rāga* appears as the modern *guṇakirī*.

9. *Mālava* : It is included in the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, which coincides with the modern *bhairava*. In the *Kautuka*, it has been depicted as : sa, ga, ma, dha (flat), pa, sa/ri (flat), sa, ni, dha (flat), pa/sa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa, ni / sa.

10. *Bhairavī* : It is included in the *bhairavī-saṁsthāna*, that coincides with the modern form of the *kāphī rāga* or *thāta*, to some extent.

11. *Varāḍī* : It has not been mentioned in the *Rāga-taraṅgiṇī*. In the *Saṅgita-pārijāta*, there are various types of *varāḍī* (we have already said that *varāḍī* and *varāṭī* are the same *rāga*).

12. *Vibhāsa* : It is included in the *bhairava-saṁsthāna*. In the *Hṛdayakautuka*, it has been depicted as : pa, dha (flat), ni, sa / ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa. In the *Hṛdaya-prakāśa*, it is mentioned as ; sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa / dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), ga, ri (flat), sa.

13. *Kedāra* : Its melodic form is similar to that of the modern *vilāvala*, possessed of all the sharp notes.

In this way, all the forms of the *rāgas*, used in the *charyā*, *vajra* and *gītagovinda-padagāna*, can be determined, and it is not an impossible task.

Regarding the *tālas*, given in the *Gītagovinda*, the commentators of the later period defined them as follows :

1. *Rūpaka* :
   - (a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : विरामान्तद्रुतद्वन्द्वं रूपकः स्याद्विलक्षण इति ।
   - (b) Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī defined it as : रूपके स्याद्द्रुतं लघु ।
2. *Yati* :
   - (a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : लघुर्द्वन्द्वाद् द्रुतद्वन्द्वं यति स्यात् त्रिपुरान्तरा इति ।

(b) Probodhānanda defined it as : लघु द्रुतौ तालश्चेति । Śāraṅgadeva mentioned about the *yatilagna-tāla* which is composed of एको द्रुतः, एको लघुश्च ।

3. *Ekatālī* :

(a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : द्रुतमेकं भवेद्यत्र सैकतालीति संज्ञिता ।

(b) Prabodhānanda defined it as :

एकताली त्रिधा प्रोक्ता गीतशास्त्रविशारदैः ।
रामचन्द्रिका तद्वद्विपुलेत्यथ लक्षणम् ॥
द्रुतमेकं भवेद्यत्र तालोऽयं खण्डसंज्ञितः ।
रामानेनैकताली तु कीर्त्यते गायनोत्तमैः ॥
गुरुद्वयं भवेद्यत्र तालो ललितसंज्ञकः ।
चन्द्रिका चैकताली स्यात्तेन सौभाग्यदायिनी ॥
कोकिलप्रियतालै वै द्रुतं त्रयमुदाहृतम् ।
विपुला चैकताली स्यात्तेन गीतज्ञसम्मता ॥

Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī divided *ekatālī* into three, *khaṇḍa*, *lalita*, and *kokilapriyā*. Śāraṅgadeva defined *ekatālī* as द्रुतेन त्वेकतालिका ।

4. *Niḥsāra* : Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as: द्रुतद्वन्द्वात् लघुद्वन्द्वं निःसारः स्यादिति ।

5. *Aṣtatālī* :

(a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : लघुर्द्रुतो लघुश्चेति अष्टताली प्रकीर्तिते ।

(b) Prabodhānanda defined it as : लघुर्द्रुतो लघुश्चेत्यष्टताली प्रकीर्तिते ।

Besides them, Prabodhānanda also described the *tālas*, *maṇṭha* and *pratimaṇṭha*. He said,

(a) गुरुर्लघुद्वयं यत्र भृङ्गतालः स कथ्यते ।
मङ्गलो मण्ठके ज्ञेयो रसे चाद्भुतसंज्ञके ॥

(b) The *pratimaṇṭha* is of four kinds, *sannipāta*, *kanduka*, *suraṅga*, and *khaṇḍa*.

(a) *Sannipāta* = गुरुरेको भवेद यत्र ।
(b) *Kanduka* = लघुद्वयं विरामान्तम् ।
(c) *Suraṅga* = विरामान्तद्रुतद्वन्द्वं गुरुश्चैकस्ततः परम् ।
(d) *Khaṇḍa* = द्रुतमेकं भवेदयत्र स तालो खण्डसंज्ञितः ।

Śāraṅgadeva described both *maṇṭha* and *pratimaṇṭha*, in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (Ch. V).

Rāṇā Kumbhā or Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār (*Medapāta*) wrote the commentary, *Rasikapriyā* in 1433-1468 A.D. on the *Gītagovinda*. The name of the commentary, *Rasikapriyā* is also known as the *Saṅgīta-mīmāṁsā*. He mentioned in his commentary the name of King Hammīra, the grand-father of his grand-father, who wrote the *Sāṅgagīta-śṛṅgarāhāra* in 1283-1364 A.D. It is interesting to note that Rāṇā Kumbhā mentioned the names of the *rāgas* and the *tālas*, which are quite different from those, mentioned by Kavi Jayadeva in the *Gītagovinda*. It is probable that he mentioned the *rāgas* and the *tālas* which were used in the *pada-gānas* of the *Gītagovinda* during his time. But they are not consistent with those of the *Gītagovinda*. As for example,

As mentioned in the *Gītagovinda*			As mentioned by Rāṇā Kumbhā according to his book, *Saṅgītarāja*		
Rāga		*Tāla*	*Rāga*		*Tāla*
mālava-gauḍa	...	rūpaka	mālava	...	ādi
gurjarī	...	niḥṣāra	lalita	...	ādi
vasanta	...	yati	lalita	...	jhampā
gurjarī	...	yati	bhairava	..	yati
gurjarī	...	yati	gaṇḍakṛti	...	pratimaṇṭha
karṇāta	...	ekatālī	malaśrī	...	niḥsāra
deśa-varāḍi	...	rūpaka	kedāra	...	niḥsāra
guṇakarī	...	rūpaka	mālavagauḍa	...	adda
mālava	...	yati	sthānagauḍa	...	yati
bhairavī	...	yati	megha-rāga	...	yati
deśa-varāḍī	...	aṣṭatālī	Instead of definite *rāgas* and tālas, 18 rāgas from the *Saṅgītarāja* have been mentioned, and they are : *madhyāmadī*, *lalita*, *vasanta*, *varātikā*, etc. It is not definite whether he meant to use all these *rāgas* separately.		

Again, in the eleventh *sarga* (chapt.), 20th *prabandha*, he mentioned some *tālas*, and in the same *sarga*, 21st *prabandha*, 17 *rāgas* and many classical *tālas*, including the *tālas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* like *triputa*, *vijayānanda*, *jāyaśrī*, *karpata-vaṅgāla*, *marutakṛti*, etc. Now, it can be asked as to whether Rāṇā Kumbhā, the authority on music, dance and drama, of the 15th century A.D., deviated in his method of interpretation of the *rāgas* and *tālas*, as depicted in the *Gītagovinda*.

Saṅgītarāja : Rāṇa Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.) wrote *Saṅgītarāja*, an encyclopædic work on science of music, dance, musical instruments and theory of *rasa*, altogether comprised of five *kośas* (chapters) of about 16,000 *ślokas* measure. Now the portion Vol. I of that encyclopædic work of Rāṇā Kumbhā has been published from Banaras Hindu University, in 1963, and has been critically edited by Dr. (Km.) Premlatā Śarmā with an Introduction of 153 pages.

Previously the *śvara*-chapter only of *Saṅgītarāja* was edited by Prof. Kuñjana Rājā and published in book-form, and the dance-chapter was published by the publication department of the Sanskrit College, Jaipur (now Udayapur), Rājasthāna.

Regarding date and identity of Rāṇā Kumbhā, the learned editor wrote : "He (Rāṇā) ascended the throne of Mewār in Chittorgarh in 1433 A.D. immediately after the assassination of his father Mokal." She then quoted a verse "श्रीमद्विक्रमकालतः परिगते नन्दाभ्रभूतक्षिता * * संगीतराजाभिधः" which mentions the year in which S. Rāj was completed as V.S. 1509 Śaka year 1374 corresponding to 1465 A.D. The Kirttistambha Inscription which was installed in 1460 A.D. clearly refers to the composition of S. Rāj, by Kumbhā... .." The book begins with "श्रीराजाधिराजेन्द्र—श्रीकुम्भकर्ण विरचितः प्रथमः पाठ्यरत्नकोशः प्रथमोऽनुक्रमणिकोल्लासः * * श्रीगणेशाय नमः" etc. The book is written in verses, but it is in *bhāṣya* style—"आश्लिष्य भाषणाद् भाष्यम्।" Rāṇā's language is both elegant and chaste. The learned editor of *Saṅgītarāja* (Banaras Ed.) said that 'at places where the author has to differ from the opinions of other writers he uses the language of satire which reminds one of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha'. While discussing

the subjects of different chapters, he quoted the names of Bharata of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Mataṅga of the *Bṛhaddeśī* and others. At the end of the second chapter, *Gītaratnakoṣa*, Rāṇā said : "श्रीमहाराजाधिराज महीमहेन्द्रश्रीकालसेनेन विरचिते संगीतराजे षोड़शसाहस्रयां संगीतमीमांसायां गीतरत्नकोषे.........परीक्षणम् ।" From this it is understood that Rāṇā Kumbhā was also known by the name Kālasena.

1. GĪTAGOVINDA-SVARALIPI of Kavi Jayadeva by Kṣetramohan Gosvāmī, Pāthuriāghātā. Baṅga-Nātyālaya, Calcutta, 1278 B.S. 10th Āṣāḍa.

It begins with :

ॐ नमः श्रीकृष्णाय। मङ्गलाचरणम्। श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभं सुरहरं हरिम् ।१

A preface in Bengali from pp. 1-12 has been written. In the last page of the preface, these lines are written :

"आमार पूज्यपाद संगीतगुरु विष्णुपुर निवासी रामशङ्कर भट्टाचार्य.. ..... जयदेव-प्रणीत गीतमाला कण्ठे धारण करिते बाल्यकाले आमाके शिक्षा देन"—उपसंहार।

That is, "my revered father, Rāmaśaṅkar Bhattāchārya of Viṣṇupur taught me the Gītamālā for preserving them in my voice."

Kṣetramohan Gosvāmī added the following tunes : (1) Saurāti (ni-flat and tāla—*teot* or *triput* in Sanskrit) ; (2) Bhūpālī (hexatonic), tāla—*teot* ; (3) Khāmbāvatī—*dhimā-tritāl* ; (4) Jhinjhit—*dhimā-tritāl* ; (5) Jhinjhit-Khāmbāj—*dhimā* ; (6) Sindhu-Bhairavī—*madhyamān* ; (7) Bihaṅgḍā—*āḍā* ; (8) Sāraṅga—*dhimā* ; (9) Lalita—*jhamptāla* ; (10) Kānāḍā—*ekatālī* ; (11) Kedārī—*dhimā* ; (12) Ālahiyā—*kāwāli* ; (13) Kaliṅgdā—*dhimā* ; (14) Bhairavī—*Jhāmp* ; (15) Bageśvarī—*dhimā*. In conclusion K. M. Gosvāmī appealed to all the musicians for holding the precious garland of diamond of the *Gītagovinda* in the necks.

2. SHREE SAṄGĪT-KALĀDHAR—the Hindi Notations of the *Gītagovinda* of Kavi Jayadeva : compiled by Dabyalāla Shivram, State Musician, Bhāvnagar, published by Chhanalāl Dahyalāl Nāyak and Chandulāl Dahyalāl Nāyak. Second Edition in 1939, printed by Gulabchandan Lallubhai Shah, printed at the Mahodaya Printing Press, Bhāvnagar, 1939.

6. VARṆA-RATNĀKARA : In the introduction to the book *Varṇa-ratnākara*, Dr. S. K. Chatterji said : The *Varṇa-ratnākara* is the oldest work in the Maithilī language of North Bihār so far known, and it goes back to the 1st half, perhaps to the 1st quarter, of the fourteenth century. * * and we know from it that the MS. was written in the year 388 of the Lā Sain era which is still current in Mithilā : this corresponds to 1507 A.C., the Lā Sain having commenced from 1119 A.C'.

The book was written by Jyotirīśvara-Kavi-śekharāchārya or Jyotiśvara Ṭhākura. His father's name was Dhīreśvara and that of grand-father, Rāmeśvara. He wrote two other books, *Dhūrtta-samāgama* and *Pañcha-sāyaka*. He was a high court official, a Vedic priest and a scholar of philosophy also. He was also a votary of Śiva, and an expert musician besides. He was in the court of a King of the Karṇāta dynasty, who defeated a Muhammadan invader (Suratrāna—Sultān). The name of the king was Harasiṁhadeva or Harisiṁhadeva. Dr. S. K. Chatterji said that from Vidyāpati's *Puruṣa-parīkṣā*, 'we get in the section under the rubric अथ गीतविद्याकथा, in Chapter III of the book, there is given a story of a singer from Mithilā (Tīrabhukti) called Kalānidhi, who went to the court of King Udayasiṁha of Gorakṣa-nagara, * * * . The story gives a good sidelight into the accomplishments of Harisiṁha : that music and singing were well patronised in his court we can easily infer from the fact of Jyotirīśvara taking pains to vaunt his accomplishment in it in the *Pañcha-sāyaka* and the *Dhūrtta-samāgama*, and from the elaborate accounts of the musicians and singers with their corteges which we find in the V.R.'

The sixth *kallola* of the *Varṇa-ratnākara* has dealt with the gentle arts of poetry, music, musical instruments, and dancing. Dr. Chatterji said : 'The Vidyāvanta, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a *Kalāvanta or Kālawāt* at the present day, is described, and his state and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more

exalted *Bhāta*. In this connection the names of the *rāgas*, of *śrutis*, as well as the 7 kinds of *gāyana-doṣa* or defects of singers, and the 14 kinds of *gīta-doṣa*, or defects in singing are mentioned'. In the pages 47-48 of the *VR.*, are described seven notes, *ṣāḍja*, etc. four music parts or *dhātus* of the *varṇa*, eighteen *jātirāgas*, names of the microtones or *śrutis* of the *grāmas* (scales), *grāmarāgas*, *rāgāṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, and *deśī rāgas* like *madhyamādi*, *mālava*, *mallāra*, *mallārī*, *megha*, *mānasi* (*mālasi*= *mālāsrī* ?) *mutukī*, *deśī*, *dīpaka*, *deśākṣī*, *devakarī*, *vasanta*, *vaṅgāla*, *vayarāvaṇī*, *valāra*, *varālī*, *kāmoda*, *karṇāta*, *kaṇṭhaddha-bhairava*, *bhairavī*, *patamañjarī*, *trāṇa*, *guṇāgara*, *gunagarī*, *gāndhāra*, *guñjarī*, *narita*, *pañchama*, *hindola*, *ramakarī*, *andhārī*, *nāta*, *choṣasāra*, *śrī*, *savarī*, *śaṅkarābharaṇa*, etc. These *rāgas* can be presented by changing the ancient standard scale into the present one (*vilāvala*). After music, comes dancing, and there are three sections, describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing : *nṛtta-varṇana*, *pātra-nṛtta-varṇana*, and *preraṇa-nṛtta-varṇana*. The 10 qualifications of the drum-player (*mūraji*) are mentioned, also the 12 kinds of drum-music (*mūraja-vādya*), the time-beats (*tāla*), 10 *rasas*, 30 *vyabhichārī-bhāvas* or opposed sentiment, and so forth.

The book has been edited by Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B., and Bābuā Miśra, Jyotiṣa-tīrtha, Jyotiṣāchārya, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1940.

7. RĀGATARAṄGIṆĪ : Written by Kavi-Lochana Paṇḍit. This book was written in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. Lochana mentioned in his *Taraṅgiṇī* that the writing of the book was finished in 1082 of the Śaka era (*bhujavasu-daśamitra-śaka*), corresponds to roughly 1160 A.D. But this is not correct. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa also utilized Lochana's *Taraṅgiṇī*, when he wrote his *Hṛdayaprakāśa* and *Hṛdayakautuka*, the time of which is assigned to 1660 A.D. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe fixes the date of the

Taraṅgiṇī somewhere before Hṛdayanārāyaṇa. He mentioned that a genuine manuscript of the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* had been found in Bombay, and it was quite different from the book published from Dvārbhāṅgā (Dvāra-Vaṅga). The *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* admits 12 *saṁsthānas* or *melas*, and they are : *bhairavī*, *toḍi*, *gaurī*, *karṇāta*, *kedāra*, *iman*, *sāraṅga*, *megha*, *dhānaśrī*, *pūrvī*, *mukhārī*, (it is different from the *mukhārī* of Vidyāraṇya Muniśvara of the 14th-15th century), and *dīpaka*. Its standard pure scale is similar to the *kāphī-mela* of the modern Hindusthānī system, to some extent.

8. RĀGA-SAṄGĪTA-SAMGRAHA : Written by Lochana Paṇḍit. This encyclopædic book on music was compiled after *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*. But it is not available. This work seems to be a great collection of different systems of music of India. Lochana mentioned : '*etesāṃ prapañchastu matkṛta-rāga-saṁhitā-saṁgraha'ṇvestavyaḥ*' (एतेषां प्रपञ्चस्तु मत्कृत-रागसंहिता-संग्रहऽन्वेष्टव्यः)।

9. SAṄGĪTA-DĀMODARA : Written by Śubhaṅkara of Bengal. Śubhaṅkara flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. There is a great controversy about his birth-place. Many are of the opinion that he was born and brought up in Mithilā, and many say that he came from Jessore. It is said that he was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and was the follower of Śrī Chaitanya. Dr. Manomohana Ghoṣa describes of another Dāmodara, and he said that Govindadāsa was born in the village of Śrīkhaṇḍa, in the district of Burdwān, probably in the sixteenth century A.D. His father Chirañjīva Śarmā was also a devotee of Śrī Chaitanya. He married the daughter of Dāmodara Sen, the author of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, and leaving Hooghly went to Śrīkhaṇḍa and lived there (vide *Vāṅgalā Sāhitya* [1955], p. 108). Some years ago, Paṇḍit Chintāharaṇa Chakravurty wrote an

article on *Śubhaṅkara* and *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* in the monthly journal, *Pravāsī* (Beng.), edited by the reputed journalist Rāmānanda Chatterjee (Calcutta), and he said that the author of the *Dāmodara* was Śubhaṅkara, a Vaiṣṇava devotee and scholar. Five MSS. of this book have been collected in four different libraries : one in the India Office Library, London, another in Kṛṣṇanagar Library, the third in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, and the fourth (incomplete), and the fifth (complete) both in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Alain Danielou (Śiva-Śaraṇa) has procured a correct MS. from Paris, and he is editing it for publication. He said that the MS. contains five chapters with 1934 *ślokas*. The Government of West Bengal has published it from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

It is said that one *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* was published (in Bengali) from Bengal, but it was mainly a book on dance and drama. Rāmdās Sen of Baharampur (Murśidābād) mentioned in his book : *Aitihāsika-Rahasya*, Vol. I, that he procured a copy of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* but unfortunately it happened to be a book on *Alaṁkāra*. It is said that a MS. of the *Dāmodara* has been procured from Nepāl, but it has not yet been published.

One Śubhaṅkara wrote a book on music, and he named it after the name of his youngest son, Dāmodara. Some are of the opinion that there were four Dāmodaras, and all were the inhabitants of Bengal. However references to this book are found in many of the later music treatises. Sir William Jones was of the opinion that the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* was an important book of the Bengal school. Copious references of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* are found in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, a voluminous Bengali encyclopædia, published under the patronage of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta, and from this it is evident that it was once profusely used by the Paṇḍits and musicians of Bengal. Now an authentic edition of the

Saṅgīta-Dāmodara has published from the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and edited by Prof. G. G. Mukhopadhyay.

10. HASTAMUKTĀVALĪ : It was written or compiled by Śubhaṅkara. Two MSS. of this book have been found : one in Bengali character, from the Nepāl Durbār Library (vide MM. H. P. Śāstrī : *Catalogue in the Durbār Library of Nepāl*, 1905, pp. 270 ff.), and the other in Āsāmī language, from Auniati-satra, Āsām. One Ghanaśyāma (?) wrote a commentary on this book. A manuscript in Newāri script has also been found in the Durbār Library, Nepāl.

Hastamuktāvalī is a book on *nāṭya*. It is said that it was composed in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., before Śubhaṅkara wrote the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. It has recently been published from the music Academy of Madras, edited by Dr. Maheśvar Neog of Gauhātī College, Āsām. Dr. Maheśvar Neog is of the opinion that the author of the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* is quite different from the author of the *Hastamuktāvalī*. But most of the scholars hold that the authors of both the books is one and the same.

11. GĪTA-PRAKĀŚA : The manuscript has been found in Odissi language. The author of this monumental book is Kṛṣṇadās. In the preface of the *Siddhānta-ratnākara* (published from Śrī Nimvārka Sodha-maṇḍala, Vṛndāvana, and edited by Visveśvararśaraṇa, 1956), Govinda Śarmā said : स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ आया है। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ वि० के आसपास हुआ है।

That is, Kṛṣṇadās died in 1632 A.D. Most probably Kṛṣṇadās is the author of *Gītaprakāśa*. The *Gītaprakāśa* was composed between the times of Rudra Gajapati and Śrī Chaitanya and Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, the author of the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, in the sixteenth-eighteenth century A.D. This authentic book was a source of inspiration to many of the books like *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*, *Saṅgīta-kāmoda*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*,

etc., and once it was used as a reference book in Greater Bengal. The author of this book, Kṛṣṇadās informed us about Rāmānanda Kavirāja in connection with *Kṣudra-gīta-prabandha* in *guṇḍakiri-rāga*, called *chitrapadā* ('उदाहरणं यथा गीतप्रकाशे गुण्डकरिरागेण'). Kṛṣṇadās said : 'जयतु रुद्रगजेशमुदितं रामानन्द कविराय कविगीतम्'. Dr. Rāghavan said that this Rudra is *Vīra Rudra Gajapati*, the Utkal King, contemporary to the famous Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, whom the latter defeated and whose daughter the latter married. Rāmānanda Rāy was a mystic poet. He was once the political officer or local governor at Vidyānagara, on the Godāvarī river, under the Gajapati King Pratāparudra. Rāmānanda's father was Bhavānanda. From the *Gītaprakāśa* we know that Rāmānanda Rāy was well-versed in the classical music.

It is mentioned in the Madras MS. Trien, Catalogue 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3176d that the *Gītaprakāśa* is divided into 15 chapters, and they are : (1) *prabandha-lakṣaṇam*, (2) *chāyālaga-nirūpaṇam*, (3) *rūpaka-bhedanirūpaṇam*, (4) *tāla-kalāvichāraḥ*, (5) *khaṇḍa-vichāraḥ*, (6) *kṣudragīta-prakaraṇam*, (7) *gīta-guṇa-vichāraḥ*, (8) *doṣa-nirūpaṇam*, (9) *nṛtta-lakṣaṇam*, (10) *vādya-lakṣaṇam*, (11) *rāga-vichāraḥ*, (12) *ṣādava-nirūpaṇam*, (13) *gīta-praśaṁsā*, (14) *nāyikā-lakṣaṇam*, (15) *nāta-vichāraḥ* (vide *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vol. IV, 1933, p. 57). The complete MS. is available in the Madras MSS. Library. Kavichandra Kāli Chandra Pattanāik of Cuttack also possesses two MSS. of it, together with the MSS. of *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*, *Saṅgīta-kāmoda* and *Nātyamanoramā*, all written by Oriyā authors. These have also been mentioned in the Anjar Cat., Vol. II.

12. SAṄGĪTA-SARAṆĪ : It was written by Kavi-Nārāyaṇa, who was greatly indebted to Kṛṣṇadās of the *Gītaprakāśa*. It is said that Kṛṣṇadās was the music-teacher of Svāmī Haridās at Vṛndāvana. But we think otherwise, and consider that Kṛṣṇadās of the *Gītaprakāśa* and Kṛṣṇadās, the teacher of Haridās are quite different.

It is said that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa was the son of Puruṣottama-Miśra, the spiritual teacher of King Nārāyaṇa-dev. Dr. Sukumār Sen said in his *A History of Brajabuli* (p. 263) that Puruṣottama-Miśra was mostly known by the name Premadās or Premānanda-dās (1712 A.D.). Dr. Sen stated : 'The poet's real name was Puruṣottama Miśra, and he obtained the title '*siddhānta-vāgīśa*''. Dr. Rāghavan was of the opinion that 'the King (Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-dev) had, in his court, many poets and scholars, one of whom was his *guru*, Puruṣottama-Miśra, who had the title of Kavi-Ratna' (—JMA, 1933, p. 75). But it seems that Puruṣottama held both the titles, '*siddhānta-vāgīśa*' and '*kavi-ratna*'. Regarding this title, *kaviratna*, we know from the introductory verses of the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī* :

नारायणाख्यमिश्रेण कविरत्नेन यत्नतः ।
वितायते सतां प्रत्यै-सङ्गीतसरणिः स्फुटा ॥

इति श्रीशाण्डिल्यवंशावतंसायित सकलशास्त्रकुशल सङ्गीतसाहित्यविद्यार्णवकर्णधार-कविरत्न-पुरुषोत्तममिश्रस्य आत्मजेन कविरत्न-नारायणमिश्रेण विरचितायां सङ्गीतसरणौ गीताभिधानं नाम प्रथमः प्रवेशः समाप्तः (Vide JMA, Madras, 1933, p. 76).

From these it is evident that Kavi Nārāyaṇa's real name was Nārāyaṇa-Miśra, and he got the title of '*kaviratna*', like his father. Kavi-Nārāyaṇa quoted many musical compositions of his father, in his *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*. Puruṣottama-Miśra was also well-versed in music, which is proved by his book, *Vaṁśīśikṣā*.

It is found that many of the music materials of the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* have been quoted in the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī*. Kavi Nārāyaṇa specially mentioned two varieties of *prabandha-gītis*, *śuddha* and *sūtra*. Many of the *prabandhas* are possessed of peculiar names like *balabhadravijaya*, *śaṅkara-vihāra*, *kṛṣṇavilāsa*, *ūṣābhilāsa*, *navanāgalalita*, *medinījātakalalita*, *śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa*, etc. These are known as the *śuddha-prabandha*. The *sūtra-prabandhas* are : *guṇḍichā-vijayasūtra*, *rāmābhyudaya-sūtra*, *rāghavavijāyasūtra*, etc.

13. SAṄGĪTA-NĀRĀYAṆA : It was composed by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-dev of Khemundi, a place in

Southern Orissā, in the 17th century A.D. Dr. Rāghavan said in his *Latter Saṅgīta-Literature* that Nārāyaṇa-dev was the King of Parlakimedi or of the Khemundi line. 'The work opens with an account of the dynasty of King Nārāyaṇa, who belongs to the Gaṅgā dynasty. He was the son of Padmanābha'. R. D. Banerji said: 'In the twenty-third *aṅka*, the Khurda territories were attached by another chief, named Nārāyaṇa-dev of Parlakimedi and Vīra Kiśora's *Diwān* was sent * *' (vide *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 120). R. Sewell mentioned that one Vīra-Pratāpa-rudra-Nārāyaṇa-dev, son of a Padmanābha lived between 1748 and 1766 A.D. (vide *Archaeological Survey of South-India*, pt. II, p. 186). Kavichandra Kāli Charaṇa Pattanāik of Cuttack wrote to me: 'I have collected six different readings of the manuscripts, of *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, from different parts of Orissā, and each manuscript the name of the author is Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-dev of Khemundi * *. You have dated *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* at the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. which should be 17th century A.D. I have collected this information from the family chronology (*krushināmā*) of the Khemundi Rāj family, to which the author of *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* belongs' (letter Ref. No. RF (l) 246/58, dated the 10th May, 1958). The *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* is available in the Madras MSS. Library also (vide also Trien Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22 MS. No. R. 3234, and Cat. 1922-25, R. 4212).

The *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* contains four chapters: (1) the first chapter contains *nāda* or causal sound, *śruti* or microtone, *svara* or note, *grāma* or scale, *rāga* or melody, *gīta* or song, and *tāla* or rhythm; (2) The second chapter contains *vādya* or drumming; (3) the third one contains *nṛtya* or dance, and (4) the fourth one, *prabandha*. Many music materials have been quoted in it from the *Nārada-saṁhitā*, *Pañchamasāra-saṁhitā*, *Saṅgīta-ratnamālā*, *Bṛhaddeśī*, *Saṅgītasāra*, *Saṅgīta-*

darpaṇa, *Saṅgīta-kalpataru*, *Saṅgīta-chandrikā*, etc. A copy of the *Saṅgīta-Nārāyaṇa* is in the Boodlin Library, London.

It is said that Nārāyaṇa-deva wrote also the *Alaṁkārachandrikā*. The *chandrikā* deals with the topics of the *alaṁkāras*, applicable to music. These *alaṁkāras* are 50 in number : 'इति प्रसिद्धालङ्कारा: पञ्चाशत् परिकीर्तिता:'। Some are of the opinion that the real author of this book is Puruṣottama Miśra. Dr. Rāghavan said that King Nārāyaṇa mentioned also the names of Kṛṣṇadatta, Vāchaspati, and others.

14. SAṄGĪTA-KAMODA : It was written by Gopīnāth-Kavibhūṣaṇa. He was the son of Vāsudeva Pātra of *Karaṇa* family, who was the *guru* and court-physician of King Jagannāth-Nārāyaṇa : "करणकुलसम्भव कवि भिषग्वर बासुदेब-पात्रतनय श्रीमद गोपीनाथ कवि-भूषणकृतौ कविचिन्तामणौ * *'। Dr. Rāghavan said that it is a work mainly on poetics and dramaturgy, and the 24th chapter has been devoted to music.

15. SAṄGĪTASĀRA : It is said that this book was written by Harinayaka-Sūri. His name has been mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-saraṇī* and *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-deva quoted Harināyaka-Sūri as one of the great authorities on music : 'सङ्गीतसार-हरिनायकरत्नमाला-गीतप्रकाश-मुखदर्शित-वर्त्मनैव' or 'तदुक्तं हरिनायकेण' or 'हरिनायकन्तु अनिवद्धमाह-आलप्तिरनिवद्धं स्यात् रागालापनरूपिणी'। (vide *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, 1933, pp. 73-74). Dr. Rāghavan was of the opinion that 'Harināyaka has described many difficult and rare *prabandhas* in his work from Bharata's treatise, and the illustrations of these are to be found in the *Gītaprakāśa*'.

16. KĀLAṄKURA-NIBANDHA : It was written in Oriyā language by one Kaviratna Kālaṅkara. It is said that he wrote a new version (*rāgamālikā*) on the *rāga* chapter of the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* by Paṇḍit Dāmodara. Some are

of the opinion that when Kālaṅkara mentioned : 'दामोदरेण स्वग्रन्थे यथोक्ता रागमालिका', he meant by the work 'दामोदरेण' the book, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* by Śubhaṅkara. But this does not seem correct, as he meant Paṇḍit Dāmodara or Dāmodara Miśra of the *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa.* King Nārāyaṇa also quoted Kālaṅkara, in connection with rhythm (*tāla*), and called him as one of his preceptors : 'अस्मद्गुरु कविरत्नमिश्र'। Dr. Rāghavan is of the opinion that 'it is likely that this *Kaviratna*, contemporary and teacher of King Nārāyaṇa, is identical with the author of *Kālaṅkara-nibandha*'.

17. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGṚAHAMU : It is a Telegu *Kāvya* on music, dedicated to Śiva Akalaṅka. It was written by Tiruveṅkata Kavi, published by Music Academy of Madras. This book was probably produced in Tāñjore.

18. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Written by King Jagajjyotiramalla of Nepāl, in 1617-1633 A.D. (Nepāl Era 799). This book deals with music, dance and drama in prose and verse.

19. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Written by Paṇḍit Narahari Chakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadāsa II. It was composed in the early 18th Century A.D. It is purely a book of collection, containing all the topics on *svara, rāga, tāla, vādya, rasa, abhinaya*, etc. Paṇḍit Narahari was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and a great scholar. It remained unpublished so long. Recently a correct and reliable manuscript has been procured and published from the Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Maṭh, Calcutta, critically edited by Svāmī Prajñānānanda with an introduction in English by the present author in 1956.

Narahari Chakravurty repeatedly mentioned the names of *Saṅgītasāra* by Harinārāyaṇa-Sūri (1500 A.D.), *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇī, Nārada-saṁhītā, Saṅgīta-muktāvalī, Gīta-prakāśa*, etc. in his

Saṅgītsāra-saṁgraha and *Bhaktiratnākara*. In the *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* by King Nārāyaṇa-deva (1760 A.D.), we find the names of *Gīta-prakāśa*, *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇī*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* of Puruṣottama Miśra (1730-1750 A.D.), *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa* by King Nārāyaṇa-deva, *Saṅgītasāra* by Harināyaka (Sūri), *Kavichintāmaṇi* by Gopīnāth Kavibhuṣaṇa. The *Gīta-prakāśa* was written in Utkala Pradeśa or Orissā.

20. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : Collected and compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1875 by J. C. Vasu Company, Calcutta. It contains six chapters on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *vādya*, *nṛtya*, *nātya*, etc. In the *rāga* chapter, Sir S. M. Tagore elaborately dealt with the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, and their different *dhyānas* from the books like *Nārada-saṁhitā*, *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*, *Rāgārṇava*, *Saṅgītasāra*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-chandrikā*, etc.

21. SAṄGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA : It is a collection of Bengali songs, of the 19th century.

22. SAṄGĪT-RĀGA-KALPADRUMA : by Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa. In fact, it was written under the patronage of the Rādhākānta Deb Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta. It was compiled in 1843 in Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit. It is a collection of *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl*, and other traditional types of songs, together with a theoretical portion in Sanskrit, compiled from different original books on music.

23. SAṄGĪTA-TARAṄGA : by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published twice in 1225 and 1256 B.S. It was written in Bengali verses, and deals with the topics on *svara*, *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha*, etc. The chapters on *svara*, and *rāga* have specially been dealt with, throwing some new light.

24. SAṄGĪT-TARAṄGA : compiled by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published in 1245 B.S. It is not now available.

25. RASIKA-MANORAÑJANA : by Rāmanidhi Gupta (Nidhu Bābu). It is a book on Bengali *tappā*, published in 1820-1830 A.D.

26. YANTRAKOṢA : by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1282 B.S. Various musical instruments of the East and West have nicely been described in it. It is a unique book of musical instruments in Bengali.

27. SAṄGĪTSĀRA : by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī. It was published from Calcutta in 1286 B.S. (1879 A.D.). It was written in Bengali, and contains theory, history, and many songs, with *daṇḍā-mātrika* notations.

28. YANTRAKṢETRA-DĪPIKĀ : by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī, published in Calcutta in 1890. Both current and rare *rāgas* have been depicted with *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations, for musical instruments. It is an authentic book of reference in Bengali.

29. GĪTAGOVINDA : A book on the *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations of the *padagānas* of Ṭhākur Jayadeva. The notations were made by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī, in *Āṣāḍa*, 1278 B.S. The book was published from the Vaṅga-Nātyālaya, Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta. The *rāgas*, selected and added to the *padagānas*, are quite different from those, mentioned in the original *Gītagovinda*, and their melodic forms are of the modern types, such as, *rāga-yogīyā—tāla-teoḍa*, *rāga-bihaṁgaḍā—tāla-āḍā*, *rāga-bhimpalaśrī*, etc. Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī mentioned in the conclusive note that he got those notations from his master Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattāchārya of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā, Bengal.

30. SAṄGĪTA-RATNĀKARA : by Navīn Chandra Dutt of Calcutta. The book has been dedicated to Sir S. M. Tagore, as the author is indebted to the Rājā in many

respects, for the collection of the materials of the book. The book is in Bengali, and contains 300 pages. It is divided into five chapters, namely *svara*, *rāga* (with *daṇḍa-mātrika* notations of the songs), *vādya* (with some illustrations of the musical instruments), *tāla*, and *nṛtya*. An Appendix and a long Introduction have been added to the book. It is not now available.

31. RĀGAMĀLĀ : by Fazil Nacḥir Muhammed. The author came from East Bengal. The book was written in 1086 B.S. Nacḥir Muhammed was the disciple of Peer Muhammed, and was born in Sultānpur, Chittāgoṅg. Forty two *rāgas*, with their *rāgiṇīs*, their characteristic features, and *dhyānas* have nicely been described in Bengali. It is not now available.

32. DHYĀNAMĀLĀ : by Ālī Rājā or Kāmu Fakir. It was published from somewhere in East Bengal. It is not available.

33. THE EIGHT PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS : (English) : by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1880, from Calcutta.

34. SIX PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS : (English) : by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published from Calcutta in 1877, with 8 plates.

35. UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF MUSIC : (English) : Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1896, from Calcutta. It contains the history of music of Asian and European countries.

36. MUSIC BY VARIOUS AUTHORS : (English) : Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in two parts, in one volume, in 1882, from Calcutta. It contains reprints from the music books by the Western authors

like Capt. N. A. Willard, Sir William Jones, Sir William Ousley, J. D. Paterson, F. Fowke, F. Gladwin, and others.

37. SEVEN PRINCIPAL MUSICAL NOTES OF THE HINDUS (With their presiding deities): Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1892, from Calcutta.

38. HINDU MUSIC (English): Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1875, from Calcutta.

39. THE MUSICAL SCALES OF THE HINDUS : (English) : Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1884, from Calcutta. There are also other books on music by Rājā S. M. Tagore in English and Bengali.

40. THE GĀNDHARVA - KALĀPA - VYĀKARAṆAM (Sanskrit) : Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore, published by Śaśibhūṣan Kṛtiratna-Bhattāchārya, in 1824 Śaka.

41. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA : Written by Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee. It was published with a long Appendix by Himāṅśu Śekhar Banerji, in 1341 B.S. The first volume deals with the theory and history of music, and the second volume contains the staff notation of many musical compositions.

42. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA (Eng.) : Translator's explanations and notes to Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee's '*Gītasūtrasāra*', Vol. II, part II, by Himāṅśu Śekhar Banerji of Baharampur (Bengal), published by Nirendra Nāth Banerjee, Calcutta in September, 1941 A.D. It is an explanatory exhaustive and illuminating notes on the *Gītasūtrasāra*. It deals with modes and scales, natural tempered scales, *laya* or tempo, rhythm, drumming, Sanskrit metres, musical forms, *rāga*, *vādī samvādī*, etc., *rāgas* in notation, merits and demerits, proper season and time for *rāga*, graces and ornaments, Tamburā and suggested improvements for it, *svara*, *mela*, *śruti*, *grāma*, ancient *grāmas* and

corresponding modern notes, etc. This English note book may be called the 'Grammar and Theory of Indian Music'.

43. HĀRĀMAṆI : It was edited by Prof. Muhammed Manusuruddīn of Rājsāhī College, and published by the Calcutta University in 1942. It is a collection of folk-songs like *bāul*, *bhātiyāli*, *jārī*, *sārī*, *gāzī*, etc. An illuminating Introduction was written by Kaviguru Rabīndra Nāth Tagore.

44. PATUĀ-SAṄGITA : Many of the songs of the *Patuās* have been collected and edited by Gurusadaya Dutt, I.C.S. It was published by the University of Calcutta in 1939.

45. PŪRVA-VAṄGA-GITIKĀ : It is a collection of the love-episodes and ballads of East Bengal. Most of the ballads of East Bengal were collected by late Chandra Kumār De. Afterwards they were edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dineś Chandra Sen, and was published by the Calcutta University, in several volumes. Besides, Nagendranāth De, Āśutoṣ Chowdhury, and others helped to collect the ballads.

46. MAIMANSIṄGHA-GITIKĀ : It contains the folk-songs and ballads of Maimansiṅgha and its adjacent places, in East Bengal. It was edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dineś Chandra Sen, and published by the Calcutta University.

Besides these books, there are hundreds of other books on music, written by the personalities like Rāma Prasanna Banerji and Gopeśvar Banerji of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā, Surendra Nāth Banerjee, Rabīndra Nāth Tagore, Rajanī Kānta Sen (Kānta-Kavi), Atul Prasād Sen, Dvījendralāl Roy, Dilīp Kumār Roy, Kāzi Nazrul, and many other composers and artists.

B

Non-musical Books containing Musical Materials

1. SADUKTI-KARṆĀMṚTA : Written by Śrīdhar Dās, and published in 1206 A.D.

2. KĪRTILATĀ (KĀVYA) : Written by Kavi Vidyāpati in 1400 A.D. It was composed in *śauraseni-apabhraṁśa*, with *maithilī* language. The second chapter *Śṛṅgāra-pravāha* deals with *gīta, vādya* and *nṛtya*.

3. KṢAṆADĀ-GĪTA-CHINTĀMAṆI : Written by the Vaiṣṇava savant, Viśvanāth Chakravurty.

4. KĪRTANA-GĪTA-RATNĀVALĪ : Written by Kālidās Nāth.

5. PADĀMṚTA-SINDHU : It is an authentic book of the Vaiṣṇava community. It was written by Ṭhākur Rādhā Mohan Sen, who was contemporary to Ghana-śyāma-Narahari (early 18th century A.D.). It contains *dhyānas* of some principal *rāgas*, which were composed according to Rāṇā Kumbhā's *Saṅgītarāja*. The later commentators of the *Gītagovinda* have also followed him, in composing the *dhyānas* of the *rāgas*.

6. PADAKALPATARU : Written and collected by Gokulā-nanda Sen, Vaiṣṇava-dās.

7. KĪRTANĀNANDA : Written by Gour Sundar Dās.

8. CHAṆḌĪDĀS-PADĀVALĪ : Vol. I was edited by Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji and Paṇḍit Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherjee and published in 1341 B.S., with a learned Introduction.

9. MAHĀJANA-PADĀVALĪ : Written by Jagabandhu Bhadra. Part I contains the *padāvalīs* of Vidyāpati, published in 1874, and part II contains the *padāvalīs* of

Chaṇḍīdās, published in 1875, from Kumerkhāli, East Bengal.

10. MAṄGALA-KĀVYAS : These are the socio-politico-religious literature of Bengal. The *Maṅgala-kāvyas* were written by different authors in different periods. Probably Bhārata Chandra's *Annadā-maṅgal* of the 18th century is the last *Kāvya*. These *Kāvyas* contain many important materials of music. Various *rāgas* and musical instruments specially of Bengal, have been described in these *Kāvyas*. Dr. Āśutoṣ Bhattāchārya, M.A., Ph.D. of the Calcutta University has done creditable research work on the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* of Bengal. His book *Maṅgala-Kāvyer Itihās* (Beng.) is a unique contribution to the domain of history and Bengali literature. His *Bāṅglār Loka-Sāhitya* is also worth-mentioning.

11. KṚṢṆA-KĪRTANA : It was written by Ṭhākur Chaṇḍīdāsa (Vaḍu). It was edited by Vasanta Rañjan Roy, and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in 1916.

12. MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA : The chapter 23 contains the topics on music. The *jātirāgas*, *grāmarāgas*, together with the *deśī rāgas* have been described in it. It was published from Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay (Sanskrit), and Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta (Bengali).

13. VĀYU-PURĀṆA : The chapters 86-87 are devoted to the discussion on music. It was published from both Bombay and Calcutta. From Calcutta it was edited first, by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar Bhattāchārya, and secondly, by Paṇḍit Pañchānan Tarkaratna and was published from the Vaṅgavāsī Press.

14. VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆA : The chapters 3, 18, 19 are devoted to music i.e., *rāgas*, *tālas*, *nṛtya*,

nātya, and different musical instruments, etc. It is an encyclopædic work, containing all the Fine Arts, and history, politics, geography etc. It was published from the Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay.

15. VṚHADDARMA-PURĀṆA : The chapter *madhya-khaṇḍa*, No. 14 has been devoted to the discussion on music.

16. LIṄGA-PURĀṆA : The *uttara-bhāga*, 2-3 contains the topics on music. It was published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhattāchārya, from Calcutta, in 1885. It was also edited by Pañchānan Tarkaratna, and was published from the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta.

17. AGNI-PURĀṆA : It is also an encyclopædic work, in which all subjects have been discussed, including *nṛtya*, *gīta*, *vādya*, *nātya*, etc. It was edited and published by Paṇḍit Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara Bhattāchārya, in 1882, from Calcutta. It was also published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.

18. AITIHĀSIKA-RAHASYA : Written by Rāmdas Sen, and published in 1876. It contains four essays on music : (a) *Bhāratavarṣer Saṅgīta-śāstra*, (b) *Saṅgīta-śāstrānugata-Nṛtya-Abhinaya*, (c) *Svara-vijñāna*, (d) *Rāga-nirṇaya*.

19. BHAKTI-RATNĀKARA : Written by Ghanaśyāma-Narahari Chakravurty of the early 18th century. It was first published from Baharampur, Murśidābād, and then from the Gauḍīya Mission, Calcutta, in 1940. The fifth chapter (*pañchama-taraṅga*) has been devoted to discussions on music.

20. GĪTA-CHANDRODAYA : Written by Narahari Chakravurty. It was edited by Svāmī Prajñānānanda and published by Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Maṭh, Calcutta. It is a

voluminous book, and its last two chapters have been devoted to the discussions on *tāla* and *rāga*, etc.

21. ŚRĪKṚṢṆARASA-SAṄGITA-SAMGRAHA : This book on music was compiled in the time of Gambhir Siṅgh, Mahārāj of Maṇipur in 1825-1834. It is one of the standard works in Sanskrit on the classical tradition of Maṇipurī Saṁkīrtana. The verses have been written on the style and pattern of the *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha* and the *Gītachandrodaya* by Ghanaśyam-Naraharidās in the early 18th century A.D.

The book contains seven chapters on *svara*, *nāda*, *śruti*, *rāga*, *grāma*, *mūrcchanā*, etc. Many citation from the contemporary *Saṅgīta* literature are found in the book. The chapter five of the book deals with *kṣudragīti*, *dhruva* and *maṇṭha*, *chitrapada*, *chitrakalā*, *pāñchālī*, etc. Besides, *graha*, *laya*, *yati*, *māna* etc. have been discussed. The chapter VII deals with the traditional Vaiṣṇava form of prayer along with the *prabandha-gānas*. The descriptions of the *rāgas* have been given from the *Rasollāsa-Tantra*, the *Geetāvalī*, the *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha*, the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.

22. ŚRĪ GOVINDA-LILĀMṚTA : Written by Kṛṣṇādās Kavirāj Gosvāmī and published by Haridās Dās, in Chaitanyāvda 463.

23. ĀNANDA-VṚNDĀVANA-CHAMPU : Written by Kavi Karṇapūr. It was published by Śyāmlāl Śrī Kṛṣṇalāl Gupta, from Bombay, in 1867. The 20th chapter has been devoted to music.

24. GITĀVALĪ : Written by Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī.

25. SAṄGĪTA-MADHYA : Written by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.

26. Other books like the *Gita-kalpataru*, *Rāgamālā*, *Āgama-*

saṅgita, *Rāga-mārga-lahari*, and *Gita-chintāmaṇi* are worth-mentioning.

27. ŚIVA-SAṄGĪTA or ŚIVA-SAṄKĪRTANA : Written by Rāmeśvara. MS. No. 16, in the Cooch Behār State Library.

28. PADĀVALĪ : by Balarāmdās. Balarāmdās was contemporary to Śrī Chaitanya (1486-1527 A.D.).

29. BALARĀM-DĀSER-PADĀVALĪ : Edited by Br. Amar Chaitanya, and published by the Nava-Bhārata Publishers, Rādhā Bāzār Street, Calcutta, in 1958. Dr. Sukumār Sen has contributed an illuminating Introduction to it, and *A Short History of Padāvali-Kīrtana*, written by Svāmī Prajñānānanda, has been added. It is a collection of the *padas* or *padagītis* by Balarāmdās.

30. KĀLI-KĪRTANA : by Kavirañjana Rāmprasād Sen. It was first published during his time (probably 1720-1730 A.D.). It contains 29 *kīrtana*, of which 17 are composed with the sentiments of motherly love (*vātsalya-rasa*), 5 with the themes of *pūrva-rāga*, 1 hymn, and 1 with the description of *rāsalīlā*. Rāmprasād was born in Hālisahar, in Hooghly district. According to Vijayarām Sen-Viśārad, the author of *Tirtha-Maṅgala*, Rāmprasād was born in Kumerahattā. It is said that Rāmprasād was also influenced in Vaiṣṇavism by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. But he mostly wrote the *Kālikīrtanas*.

31. SAṄGĪTA-GOURĪŚVARA : by Gaṅgādhara Tarka-vāgīśa Bhattāchārya. It was composed on the 2nd *Vaiśākha*, in 1772 Śaka Era, i.e. in 1850 A.D. It was printed in Samvāda Prabhākara Press. It was written in both Sanskrit and Bengali verses. The author composed some of the songs, imitating the verses of Jayadeva, but the themes of his composition were of *Śiva-Śakti*.

It must, therefore, be admitted that Bengal made an immense contribution in the field of Indian music, both classical and folk. Thousands of composers and singers appeared in Bengal, and joined their hands in a spirit of amity and love. Different types of music, with their novel technique and texture, came forth. Artists and lovers of music adopted new methods and modes of classical music from outside of Bengal,—from Delhi, Āgrā, Gwālior, Punjāb, Jaunpur, Banaras, Gayā, Lucknow, and other places, enriched their treasures, by inventing many new forms of music and methods of presentation, composed innumerable songs, and wrote and compiled many treatises on music, impregnated with the spirit and religious sentiment of Bengal. Their honest attempts were successful. Let, therefore, the noble culturists and pioneers of Indian music of Bengal combine in a spirit of friendship to collect, culture, and preserve music and musical literature of Bengal, so as to prove the glorious and undying legacy of the cultural atmosphere and tradition of Bengal.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

GĪTAGOVINDA-PADAGĀNA IS THE BACKGROUND OF PADĀVALĪ-KĪRTANA

The *Padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is a classical type of *nibaddha-karaṇa-prabandha-gāna* of the *sūḍa*-class. It is possessed of *dhātu, aṅga, tāla, rāga*, and different emotional contents. It is devotional-cum-spiritual in nature. It has a tradition and a special feature of its own. Its sāhitya in sweet *vrajabūlī-bhāṣā* as well as the method of improvisation or *gāyakī* are unique ones.

I proceed herewith to prove briefly that the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* of Kavi Jayadeva really forms the background of evolution of the *Padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. The word '*kīrtana*' is a general term that conveys the idea of a devotional song, sung in eulogy of a god, deity, or superman, and for that reason it is also called the *Yaśogāna* or *kīrtigāthā-gāna*. The dictionary meaning of the term, *kīrtana* is *kīrti—krita +kthin* in relation to *khyātiḥ* or *yaśaḥ* i.e. reputation. The *Vāchaspatyābhidhāna* stated : "khyātibhede amaraḥ/khyātibhedaścha dhārmikatvādi-praśasta-dharmavatvena nānā-deśīya-kathana-jñāna-viṣayatā/kīrtiścha jīvato mṛtasya vetyatra viśeṣo nasti/ * * tatra dānādiprabhavā khyātiḥ kīrtiḥ śauryādi-prabhavā khyātiryaśa iti kechid yaśaḥkīrtyor-bhedamāhuḥ." Manu has also said in his *Saṁhitā* : "prajñāṃ yaśaścha brahma-varchasameva cha". So it is clear that the term '*kīrtana*' is a song in praise of conception or knowledge or quality or power or glory of a god, or a superman. In the *Bhāgavatam*, *kīrtana* or *kirtigāna* has been used for a song in praise of divinity and greatness of Śrī Krṣṇa. In the 15th-16th century A.D., Śrī Chaitanya and his followers used this song for signifying the divine sportive play or *līlā* as well as the greatness or *mahimā* of the all-powerful Creator. In the *Pañcharātra-saṁhitās* and *Purāṇas*, the word *kīrtana* has been used for

singing a song in praise of Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu and of his different emanations. As for example, in the *Bhāgavatam*, it has been mentioned : "randhrān veṇoradharasudhayā pūrayan gopavṛndairvṛndāraṇyaṃ svapada-ramaṇaṃ prāviśad gītakīrtiḥ." The term *gītakīrtiḥ* has been defined as "gītā kīrtiḥ yaśaḥ yasya sa Śrī-Kṛṣṇaḥ", i.e. *kīrtana* means a kind of song (*gāna*), sung in praise of divine sportive plays of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and it is sung by a band of singers in a raised voice : "gāyanta ucchairamumeva saṁhatāḥ" (X. 30. 4). In all parts of India, *kīrtana* is sung in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu-Bhagavān by the band of singers, and it is recognised as the devotional *bhajan*. In Bengal, it evolved first in the form of the *Nāma-kīrtana* and was introduced by Śrī Chaitanya himself ; and then in the form of *Rāsa* or *Līlā-kīrtana* and it was introduced by Narottamadās in a Vaiṣṇava festival at Khetari in the mode of classical *dhruvapada* in *vilambita-laya*.

Regarding *kīrtana*, one of the Vaiṣṇava savants Gopāla Bhatta said in the *Haribhaktivilāsa* (XI. 239) : "kalau saṁkīrtya keśavaṃ" or "kalau taddharikīrtanāt." Sanātana Gosvāmī has also said : "saṃkīrtanaṃ nāmocchāraṇaṃ gītaṃ stutiścha nāmamayī." That is, *kīrtana* is sung in raised voice with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla Bhatta prescribed this type of *kīrtana*, as it is a combination of *nṛtta* and *vādya*. He has said that this type of *kīrtana* is meant for the Vaiṣṇavas i.e. for the devotees of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In South India, the devotional *kīrtana* was prevalent among the mediæval Saint-singers, viz., the Nāyanmārs and Ālwārs of Tāmil-land and that *kīrtana* was known as the *divya-prabandha-gāna*. It was then introduced by their successors in Karṇātaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt and other places.

Sometimes it is believed that *padāvalī-kīrtana* evolved from the *nāma-kīrtana*. But that is not correct, as from a close study of both *padāvalī-kīrtana* and the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* it is known that *padāvalī-kīrtana* evolved with the materials of the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* which evolved after the ideal of *Charyā* and *vajra gānas* of the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna

Buddhists in the 12th century A.D. It is also known from the comparative study of the *Gītagovinda* and the *Padāvalī-kīrtana* that both the *gānas* were composed as the means of worship or *upāsanā* in twofold ways, and they were known as *aiśvarya* in the *vidhimārga* and *mādhurya* in the form of *rasāsvādana* or realization of different divine æsthetic sentiments. The author of the *Gītagovinda* made Śrī Kṛṣṇa the centre of the themes of all songs, and has recognised him as the embodiment of prime-sentiment, *śṛṅgāra*. Similar conception is found in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Besides, it is evident that both Kavi Jayadeva and the later mystic Vaiṣṇava composers (Mahājanas) have adopted *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva* as the central theme of their *padas* and *padāvalīs*, and from this adoption, different *pālāgānas* like *māna*, *dāna*, *kaṇḍitā*, *māthura*, *rāsa*, *naukāvilāsa* etc. were composed in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. It is generally believed that *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva*, associated with *bhaktitattva*, evolved from the Bengal Vaiṣṇavism that was introduced by Śrī Chaitanya. But that is not correct, as the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was prevalent even before Jayadeva and Śrī Chaitanya. Well has it been said by Dr. S. K. De in his *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (1942) : "Long before Chaitanya the melodious Padāvalīs of Jayadeva in Sanskrit (?) and the songs of Chaṇḍīdāsa in Bengali had also popularised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult with their largest of Vaiṣṇava devo[illegible] sentiments. Even if Chaitanya's religious personality started a new movement or gave a new interpretation to an old faith, his affiliation to the whole trend of Vaiṣṇava tradition of the past cannot be doubted, and its influence on him must have been varied and abundant." Futher he has said : "A Chaitanyite Vaiṣṇava would regard the *Gītagovinda* not merely as a poetical composition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work, and would feign explain it in terms of his *Bhakti-rasa-śāstra*. But it must not be forgotten that Jayadeva's poem was composed nearly three hundred years before the appearance of Chaitanya and before the promulgation of the *Rasaśāstra* of Chaitanyaism." Leaving aside all the controversial

discussions, it can safely be taken that the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, which was mainly based on the Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, adopted the main principles of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva*, together with *rāsatattva* from those, contained in Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda-padagāna*.

The *padāvalī-kīrtana* took a new and novel course during the time of Narottamadās in the 16th century A.D. It has already been said that Narottamadās introduced the *garāṇhāti style* of *kīrtana* in slow tempo in the mode of the classical *dhruvapada* of the North Indian Hindusthānī music. It is a fact that afterwards different styles of *manoharsāhi*, *reṇeti*, *mandāriṇī*, *jhāḍkhaṇḍī* etc. *kīrtanas* evolved with their special tempi and features, but all of them had their central theme, the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva*, as we find it in the *padagānas* of the *Gītagovinda*. From the observation we find that the *Gītagovinda* is divided into twelve chapters (*sargas*) and each chapter is named after each divine aspect of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the hero or Nāyaka of the songs. Similar things happened in the *pālās* of *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The mystic *Vaiṣṇava* composers have composed different *pālās* or plots of the *kīrtana* describing the sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and their central themes are Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the hero and heroine of the plays. And it should be noted that all the plots or *pālās* are saturated with æsthetic sentiment moods (*rasas* and *bhāvas*). It is quite true that the Vaiṣṇava rikas like Rūpa Gosvāmī, Kavi Karṇapūra, Pītāmbara-dās and others afterwards elaborately described sixtyfour sentiments in their *Ujjvalanīlāmaṇī* and *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *Alaṁkārakaustubha*, and *Rasamañjarī*, etc., in connection with the *padāvalī-kīrtana* and thus helped the later composers to divinise the themes of the *padāvalīs*. Not only Pujārī Gosvāmī and Rāṇā Kumbhā, but also all the commentators of the *Gītogovinda* described how Kavi Jayadeva divinised his *padagānas* with æsthetic sentiments and *nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāvas* long before Rūpa Gosvāmī, Kavi Karṇapūra, and other later Vaiṣṇava Ālaṁkārikas described and classified the *rasas* and *bhāvas* in their respective works, for the purpose of their

proper uses in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. It is found that like Jayadeva (as it is evident from the *padagānas*), the Vaiṣṇava Gosvāmī's also divided the prime-sentiment, *śṛṅgāra* into *vipralambha* and *sambhoga*. The former has again been divided into *pūrvarāga*, *māna*, *premevaichitta* and *pravāsa*, and the latter into *saṁkṣipta-sambhoga*, *saṁkīrṇa-sambhoga*, *sampanna-sambhoga* and *samṛddhi-sambhoga*. Again the eight sub-sentimental moods like *abhisārikā*, *vāsakasajjā*, *utkaṇṭhitā*, *vipralabdhā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *kalahāntaritā*, *proritabhartṛkā* and *svādhīnabhartṛkā* were divided into sixty-four ($8 \times 8 = 64$) sentiments. The manifestations of these sixty-four sentiments are also found in the *padagānas* of the *Gītagovinda*. The eight main sentiments, as described in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, are quite evident in the *Daśāvatārastotra*, as described by Kavi Jayadeva, and those main sentiments are *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, and *adbhuta*. In the commentary of the *gāna*, "*śrita-kamalākucha-maṇḍala*" etc. (No. 2), Pūjārī Gosvāmī stated : "daśāvatārān kurvate śrī kṛṣṇāya sarvākarṣaṇānandāya tubhyam namo'stu/daśākṛititvaṃ prakaṭayannāha/mīnarupeṇa... śri kṛṣṇasya sarvanāyaka-śiroratnatā-pratipādanāya dhīrodāttatvādichaturvidha-nāyaka-guṇa-samanvayena sarvotkarṣāvirbhāvanaṃ prārthayate śritakamaletyādibhiḥ/"[1] It has already been said before that the eight main *rasas* (though afterwards one or two more sentiments like *śānta* and *vatsala* were added) have been used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. And it should be remembered that the Nāyaka, Śrī Kṛṣṇa has been conceived as the embodiment of *śṛṅgāra-rasa*.

Regarding the composition of different *pālās* or plots of

1. In this connection, Dr. S. K. De said : "The opening Daśāvatāra Stotra, as well as the second Jaya-Jaya-Deva-Hare Stotra, presents Kṛṣṇa in his Aiśvarya aspect, not an Avatāra, but as the veritable Supreme deity of many incarnations (*daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ*), omitting all reference to Rādhā but mentioning Śrī or Lakṣmī. As the poem proceeds, the Dhīrodātta Nāyaka becomes Dhīralalita and all the erotic Mādhurya implications of the theme are developed to their fullest extent."—*Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* (Calcutta, 1942), p. 9.

the later *padāvalī-kīrtana*, it can be said that their ideas are contained as germs (*bījākāreṇa*) in the *Gītagovinda-padagānas*. I would like to draw the attention of the readers to the following lines of the *Gītagovinda*, which really gave the inspiration for composing different *pālāgānas* like *māthura*, *dāna*, *rāsa*, etc. of the latter *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The lines are :

(a) Viharati Haririha sarasa-vasante, etc. (I. 28).
(b) Vṛndāvana-vipine parisara-parigata-yamunā-jalapūte, etc. (I. 34).
(c) Rāsarase saha nṛtyaparā Hariṇā yuvatiḥ praśaśaṁse, etc. (I. 45).
(d) Vṛndāvana-vipine lalitaṃ vitanotu, etc. (I. 47).
(e) Rāsollasabhareṇa vibhramabhṛtāmābhīra-vāmabhruvāṃ, etc. (I. 49).
(f) Vihārati vane rādhā sādhāraṇa-praṇaye harau, etc. (II. 10).
(g) Yuvatiṣu valattṛṣṇe Kṛṣṇe vihāriṇi māṃ vinā, etc. (II. 19).
(h) Govindaṃ vraja-sundarīgaṇa-vṛtaṃ, etc. (II. 19).
(i) Rādhāmādhāya hṛdaye tatyāja vraja-sundarīḥ, etc. (III. 1).
(j) Dhīra-samīre yamunā-tīre vasati vane vanamālī, etc. (V. 9).
(k) Hari Hari yāhi Mādhava yāhi Keśava mā vada kaitava-vādaṃ, etc. (VIII. 2).
(l) Smara-garala-khaṇḍanaṃ mama śirasi maṇḍanaṃ, dehi padapallavamudāraṃ, etc. (X. 9).

In this way it can be shown that different *pālāgānas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* were composed by the Mahājana composers with different sportive ideas which are contained in the *padagānas* of the *Gītagovinda*.

Besides them, the twelve spiritual principles or *tattvas* like *yugalarūpa*, *prakāśa* and *vilāsa*, *rasāsvādana*, mutual *bhajana*, *bhakta* and *bhagavān*, *sādhya*, *sādhana*, *pūrvarāga* and *anurāga*, *abhisāra*, *vāsakasajja*, *milana* and *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* are found common in both the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* and *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Again

the expression of divine love (*prema*), which has been conceived in three different ways, *prauḍha*, *madhya* and *manda* in the *Gītagovinda*, has also been adopted in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Some thousands of *padas* were composed by more than three hundred Mahājanas like Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdās, Vidyāpati, Guṇarāj Khāṅ, Rāy Rāmānanda, Murārī Gupta, Govinda Ghose, Vāsudeva Ghose, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Basu Rāmānanda, Yadunāthdās, Vaṁśīdās, Balarāmdās, and others, and it must be admitted that they got inspiration for the composition of those *padas* from those of the *Gītagovinda*. Jayadeva was a pioneer composer of the *padas* in the *śṛṅgārarasa*, which are divine and world-transcending. The picture of Rādhā, as the divine Nāyikā of Nāyaka Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is beautifully painted by Kavi Jayadeva, and it is said that he got the ideas of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa from the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult which was prevalent during the time of the Vaiṣṇavite Sena kings towards the end of the 12th century A.D. "Some are of the opinion," said Dr. S. K. De, "that the advent of the Karṇātas in Bengal with the Chedi prince Karṇadev introduced the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India; and it is noteworthy that the Sena kings themselves, who were in all probability Vaiṣṇavas, are described in their inscriptions as Karṇāta-Kṣatriyas. There can be no doubt, however, that the first and the most important literary record of pre-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is the passionate lyrical poem of Jayadeva, which must have been the source of inspiration of such later Bengali poems as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* of Baḍu Chaṇḍidās (*circa* end of the 14th century)." To this we would like to add that not only Baḍu Chaṇḍidās, but also all the later Vaiṣṇava Mahājana composers composed their *padas* or *pada-sāhityas*, being inspired by the composition of the *Gītagovinda*. Dr. Bimān Behārī Mazumder was of the opinion that 16th-17th century was the golden age of the compilation of the *padāvalī* literature, whereas 18th century can be considered as the age of collection (*saṁkalana*). The *Kṣṇadāgīta-chintāmani* of Viśvanāth Chakravarty, the *Padāmṛtasindhu*

of Rādhāmohan Ṭhākur, the *Saṁkīrtanamṛta* of Dinabandhu-dās, the *Gītachandrodaya* and the *Śaṅgīta-saṁgraha* of Narahari Chakravurty, the *Kīrtanānanda* of Gaurasundara-dās, the *Pada-kalpataru* of Gokulānanda Sen or Vaiṣṇava-dās were the products of the 18th Century. In the beginning of the 19th Century i.e. in 1728 śaka or 1806 A.D. Kamalākānta-dās composed the *Padaratnākara* and Gaurīmohan-dās (1849 A.D.) composed the *Padakalpalatikā*.[2]

Dr. Mazumder said that the *padāvalīs* were written for singing, and those songs were known as *kīrtana*. At first the general audiences could not appreciate the pure types of *manoharsāhi* and *garāṇhāti kīrtanas*, rather they could understand and appreciate well *ḍhap-kīrtana* (which evolved in the beginning of the 18th Century), *kṛṣṇa-yātrā*, *pāñchālī*, *kavigāna* etc. The *bāul* type of folk song originated already before or during the time of Śrī Chaitanya. Gradually the appreciation of *kīrtanagāna* found its way among the music-lovers of Bengal, and it was really Ṭhākur Narottama-dās who popularised the *kīrtana* with its classical form. But it is a fact that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend of the *Gītagovinda* inspired Jīva Gosvāmī, while he beautifully described Śrī Rādhā in the *Rādhā-prakaraṇa* of the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*. The female attendants like Sakhī, Gopī and Dūtī, which are the sweetest imaginative conceptions of Jayadeva, have also been adopted in the *padas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* by the Mahājana composers.

So, from the close and comparative study of both the *Gīta-govinda* and the *padas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, it can be concluded that the finest *śṛṅgārarasa-kāvya Gītagovinda* supplied living inspiration to the mystic Vaiṣṇava composers to compose the *padas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and thus the *Gītagovinda-padagāna* can be recognised as the background of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal.

2. Vide, *Rabindra Sāhitye Padāvalīr Sthāna* (1368 B.S.), p. 1.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PADĀVALĪ-KĪRTANA

Kirtana is a religio-devotional type of song, which is sung with classical melody and rhythm in praise of God, hero or superman. It can be said to be the *bhajan* in his classical form. It is prevalent in all parts of India in some form or other. There must have occurred many changes or modifications in it, at different times, before coming into its present classical form. Some are of the opinion that it might be possible that *kīrtana*, in its most primitive form, was very simple and crude, and it was mostly prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of India, in remote antiquity. W. G. Archer said in his informative book : *The Blue Grove, the Poetry of the Urāons* (1940) that he noticed a type of folk or tribal music, called '*kīrtana*', among the uncivilized aboriginal Urāons, in the hilly district of Chotānāgpur. He is of the opinion that *kīrtanas* or tribal songs of the Urāons and other primitive hilly tribes are probably the precursor or forerunner of the present developed classical type of *padāvalī-kirtana*, as it is a fact that the simple folk music is the origin of the developed art music. Archer said : 'Urāon dance poems are fitted to the drum rhythms, and are sung by the boys and girls while the dances revolve. Most of them are poems of four lines. In the dances which have a definite advance and reverse action, the first two lines are called the '*or*' or opening movement and the third and fourth lines are known as *kīrtana* or reverse'. Further he said : 'The '*or*' takes the lines of dancers anti-clockwise on the circle. After it has been repeated three or four times there is a stop or hitch in the dance and the movement is reversed—the line moving back clockwise, while the *kīrtana* is sung and repeated. Where there are more than four lines in the dance poem, the fifth and sixth lines and the

seventh and eighth are treated as additional *kīrtana*, and after each *kīrtana* has been sung and repeated the dance moves back into the '*or*' action and repeats the first two lines before it goes on to the next. A few dances do not have any obvious reverse action, and in these cases the *kīrtana* is sung as an addition or variation to the '*or*'—the poem being sung over and again as long as the dance lasts'. In fact, the *kīrtana* of the aboriginal Urāons is a kind of primitive type of dance-music. Generally this type of tribal song is possessed of four lines, and when the Urāons go forward, after singing two lines, it is known as '*or*', and when they go backward, after singing the remaining two lines, it is known as '*kīrtana*'. So it is evident that the tribal songs of the Urāons of Chotānāgpur is a combination of '*or*' and '*kīrtana*', which is quite different from the characteristics of *padāvalī-kīrtana* of the Bengal.

Now, this opinion does not hold good, as *kīrtana* did not evolve from the primitive songs of the Orāons. It is true that folk type of music is the source of origin of classical type, but the classical *kīrtana* evolved from the *Nāma-kīrtana* propagated by Śrī Chaitanya. Śrī Chaitanya publicly introduced *nāma-kīrtana* (i.e. *nagar-kīrtana*) in the streets of different towns and villages, and secretly in the house of Śrivāsa. That *kīrtana* was known as '*nṛtya-saṅkīrtana*', as Śrī Chaitanya used to sing *kīrtana* with dance. During his time, there were many *sampradāyas* of *nāma-kīrtana* in Śrīkṣetra or Purī, Kulinagrām, Śāntipur, and Śrīkhaṇḍa. The main four *sampradāyas* were headed by four singers, Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Śrivāsa, Mukunda Dutta, and Govinda Ghose, and the main dancers were, Advaita, Nityānanda, Haridās, and Vakreśvara. When Śrī Chaitanya used to sing *kīrtana* around the temple of Śrī Jagannāth, it was known as *beḍā-kīrtana*. In fact, Śrī Chaitanya-Mahāprabhu introduced *nāma-kīrtana* as a means to spiritual *sādhanā*.

Real origin of *kīrtana* came from the classical *kīrti-prabandha-gāna* which is discussed in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (vide the *prabandha-adhyāya*). Dr. Āśutoṣa Bhattāchārya of the Calcutta University collected many folk type of religious love-songs of

Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa from Puruliā, Jhārgrām, Bānspāhārī, Midnāpore, Murśidābād and other places of West Bengal. Those religious love-songs are known as *jhumurā-gāna*. In his *Loka-Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Vols. I-IV, Dr. Bhattāchārya recorded *gaurachandrikā*, *vaṁśikhaṇḍa*, *māna*, *abhisārikā*, etc. song-plots which seem similar to those of the classical type of *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Dr. Bhattāchārya has written : "Gradually the folk-type of the *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana* influenced the Vaiṣṇava-*padāvalī*, but yet it preserved its own form. It is true, he has said, that those folk-type of *jhumurā-songs* were composed on the type of *Mahājana-padāvalī*, but those songs remained confined in the society of the aboriginal races and took its own novel form. Dr. Bhattāchārya has further said : "But we should remember that the *jhumurā*-songs of the aboriginal races of West Bengal were not composed according to the æsthetic treatises of the Vaiṣṇavas, and so the *gaurachandrikā*, *pūrvarāga*, etc. as found in the folk *jhumurā*-songs of West Bengal are not really the same. The Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava *Mahājana-padāvalīs* have many similarities with the *padāvalīs* of Āḍvāra or Ālvāras of South India. The *divya-prabandhas* of the Ālvāras of the South Indian Vaiṣṇava sect were also devoted to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇā cult, and that cult, we think, was probably influenced by the Pañcharātra doctrines.

While surveying the historical development of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal, we find that during the time of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena (1178-1179 or 1184-1185 A.D.), the classical *prabandha* type of music was profusely cultured, as evidenced from Ṭhākur Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, and other types of *padagīti*. From the history of Bengal we know that classical dance and music were cultured by the Gupta Rulers (third-sixth century A.D.). In the coin, we find a figure of Samudragupta, depicted as a *veeṇā*-player. When the Pāla Rulers were in power (seventh-eighth century A.D.), many of the rural ballads and folk songs were composed, and sung with classical tunes (*rāgas*). During the reign of Gopīchandra and the queen Maināvatī (or Madanāvatī), *śāstric* dances and music were cultured in

different temples and places of Bengal. Many musical remains discovered from the Lāmāi Hill, testify the fact.

The nucleus of Vaiṣṇava *padas* or *padāvalīs* is found in Hāla Satavāhana's *gāhā-sattaśai* (i.e. *gāthā-saptaśatī*), in the first-fifth century A.D. Hāla described some of the *padas*, composed of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *vrajalīlā*. Bhatta-nārāyaṇa composed some *nāndī-ślokas* of the drama, Veṇīsaṁhāra (seventh-eighth century A.D.), describing Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's *rāsa*-function on the bank of Jamunā, and they have been acknowledged by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*, in the ninth century A.D. Ānandavardhana also quotes a beautiful *pada* or *padagīti* of an unknown author, who composed it with the theme of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Dr. Śaśībhūṣan Dāśgupta said that this particular *pada* has been quoted by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktījīvita*, in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. Trivikrama-Bhatta also composed some *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas* in his *Nalachampu* in 915 A.D Some of the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas*, describing *vrajalīlā*, are found in the *Kavindra-samucchaya*, in the tenth century A.D., and one of the *padas* have been quoted by Bhojarāja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, in the eleventh century A.D., and Hemachandra in his *Kāvyānuśaraṇa*, in the twelfth century A.D. Śrīdhara-dās has also mentioned that particular *padagīti* in his *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*. Besides, Bhojjala-kavi,[1] Sāradātanaya, Kavi Karṇapūra, Sāgaranandī, Ramaśarmā, and others have also composed *padagītis*, describing the divine episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's divine *vrajalīlā*.

Then we come across with Ṭhākur Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, Līlā-śuka Ṭhākur Vilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, and Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, in the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D. When Jayadeva composed *Gītagovinda*, *vrajabuli* was not introduced as the language of the *padagītis*. Some say that it was first written in *prākṛt* and was afterwards Sanskritised. Some are of the opinion that the *Gītagovinda* was known as *nāṭagīti*,

1. Some are of the opinion that Bhojjala-kavi and Abhinavagupta are one and the same man.

written in *avahatta* language. The language *avahatta* was an admixture of Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Bengali. Some other scholars hold the view that the *Gītagovinda* was practised as group-music or *pālāgāna*. But that is not wholly correct, as it was composed of *mātrāvṛtta* metre (*chanda*), mixed with *tripadī*. Some are again inclined to call the *Gītagovinda* as *aṣṭapadī*, and the name is very common in South India. But, truly speaking, the name *aṣṭapadi* is not befitting the *Gītagovinda*, as it is not composed of only eight verses or *padas*, rather it consists of different groups of verses. As for example, the first chapter (*sarga*) consists of 49 verses, the second one of 21 verses, the third one of 16 stanzas, and the fourth one of 23 verses, etc.

Jayadeva was the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇa-sen, the worthy son of Rājā Vallālasen. The renowned poets like Govardhana, Dhoyī, Śarana, and others were contemporary to Jayadeva. In the *padagītis* of *Gītagovinda*, we find the beautiful description of the divine sportive plays (*līlā*) of Vṛndāvana, but it seems that they were merely the reproductions of those of Mathurā, Dvārakā and other adjacent places, as described in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*. Śrī Rādhā or Rādhikā has been described by Jayadeva as one of the eight chief Gopīs of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and this idea was probably incorporated by him from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Purāṇas*. Dr. S. B. Dāsgupta said in this connection that 'Jayadeva's exact source is not known. There are parallelism between the extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and that of the *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*, but there is no conclusive proof that Jayadeva's inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā (who is also not mentioned by *Līlāśuka*), and describes the autumnal, not vernal, *rāsalīlā*'. It is true that the word 'Rādhā' does not occur in the *Bhāgavata*, in the sense of divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but there occurs only the word '*ārādhita*' i.e. 'worshipped'. The *Bhāgavata* states in the 10th chapter (30.24) :

Anayārādhito nūnaṃ bhagavān hari-rīśvaraḥ /
Yanno vihāya Govindaḥ prīto yāmanayadrahaḥ //[2]

That is, 'Hari has certainly been worshipped by this woman, because Govinda has been pleased to bring her in the lonely place, leaving us all behind'. Sanātana Gosvāmī, Viśvanāth Chakravurty, and other Vaiṣṇava savants interpreted the word '*ārādhitaḥ*' as 'most beloved and venerable Rādhā'. Sanātana Gosvāmī commented on the *śloka* as '*anayaiva ārādhitaḥ ārādhya vaśīkṛtaḥ na asmābhiḥ. Rādhayati ārādhayatīti rādheti nāmakāraṇañcha darśitam*',[3] Viśvanāth Chakravurty said : '*nūnaṃ harirayaṃ rādhitaḥ. rādhāṃ itaḥ prāptaḥ.*[4] Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī also accepted the view of Sanātana Gosvāmī in his *Chaitanyacharitāmṛta* thus :

Kṛṣṇa-vāñchāpūrtirūpa kare ārādhane /
Ataeva rādhikā nāma purāṇe vākhāne //[5]

In the mythico-historical epics like *Padma, Skandha,* etc., the word 'Rādhā' has been mentioned with Lalitā, Viśākhā, Chandrāvālī, and other female attendants (*sakhīs*). Dr. S. K. De was of the opinion that although Rādhā is not mentioned in the *Rāsapañchādhyāya* of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, yet the Gopīs figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and sensuous poetry. Some say that Jayadeva was influenced by the religious doctrine of Nimvārka, and so he gave Rādhā a high place in his *padagītis*. But this view is untenable, as we find that Jayadeva was mostly influenced by the doctrines of earlier literature

2 अनयाराधितो नूनं भगवान हरिरीश्वरः ।
यन्नो विहाय गोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयद्रहः ।।

3. अनयैव आराधितः आराध्य बशीकृतः न अस्माभिः ।
राधयति आराधयतीति राधेति नामकारणञ्च दर्शितम् ।
—बैणवतोषणी-टीका ।

4. नूनं हरिरयं राधितः । राधां इतः प्राप्तः * * ।

5. कृष्णवाञ्छापूर्तिरूप करे आराधने ।
अतएव राधिका नाम पराणे वाखाने ।
—चैतन्यचरितामृत (आदिलीला, ४र्थ परिच्छेद)

like *Pañcharātra*, different *Purāṇas*, and the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*. It is also true that the fundamental doctrine and philosophical ideas of the *Gītagovinda* are greatly based on the religious thoughts of the earlier *Pañcharātra-saṁhitā*. The *Śrīmadbhāgavata* also follows most of the ideas and ideals of the *Mahābhārata*, *Khila-Harivaṁśa*, and *Purāṇas* like *Brahmavaivarta*, *Viṣṇu*, *Padma*, *Skandha*, etc. There is a great controversy, regarding the date of the *Bhāgavata*, the authentic religious literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. Some are of the opinion that as the *Bhāgavata* adopts the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, depicted in the earlier *Pañcharātra* literature like *Sātvata*, *Ahirvyadhna*, *Parameśvara*, *Jaya*, *Iśvara*, *Parama*, *Padma*, etc., in the beginning of the Christian era, it might have been compiled not earlier than the eighth-ninth century A.D.

But it should be investigated as to how and when the popular cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa or Bhāgavatism exactly evolved in the Indian society. We gather from the *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad* that *Devakī-putra* Kṛṣṇa was the disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa, a priest of the Sun, and the worshipper of the Fire-god (Agni), who taught Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣatriya scholar and seer, who flourished, according to Jain tradition, about 1000 B.C. 'Vāsudeva', said Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee, 'seems to have been an accepted form of the Vedic god, Viṣṇu, at the close of the Vedic period. According to the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyoka*, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu are three aspects of the same god. In the *Mahābhārata*, we find the story that Pauṇḍraka pretended to be Puruṣottama or Viṣṇu and was known under the name of Vāsudeva.* * It was the Sātvatas, an important branch of the Yādava race, who first recognised Kṛṣṇa not merely as their tribal hero and leader (*Sātvatam-varaḥ*), but as the Supreme God, or the Sun whom he taught them to meditate upon. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's identification with the Sun is clearly indicated in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 341.41).[6] Thus Kṛṣṇa

6. Vide also *Bhāgavad-Gitā*, XIII. 18.

came to be known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and his worshippers were called Pañcharātras or Bhāgavatas'.

We find again that the Sātvatas were at first the worshippers of the Sun (*sūryopāsaka*), and when the Sun was deified as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, 'radiant Lord of the Sky', they began to worship Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the representation of the radiant Sun. Pāṇini (500 B.C.) described Vāsudeva as the son of Vāsudeva of the race of the Vṛṣṇis. The *Bhāgavad-Gītā* also stated : 'Of the Vṛṣṇis, I am Vāsudeva'. Patañjali (150 B.C.) mentioned Vāsudeva as Bhāgavat or 'the Adorable'. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee was of the opinion that the *Mahābhārata* repeatedly refers with respect to the *Pañcharātra* or *bhakti* literature which deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. The worship of the personal deity Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Puruṣa derived invaluable support from the early Vedic conception of the deity, Viṣṇu or Puruṣa. 'The later *Upaniṣads* from about 250 B.C. onwards preached the doctrine of Īśvara or Lord and of revelation vouchsafed to whomsoever the Lord chooses. The new theistic doctrine was preached by the Bhāgavatas or Vāsudevakas, named after Vāsudeva, who is Kṛṣṇa himself, and is later identified in an *Āraṇyaka* with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, and in the famous Besnagar inscription of the convert Heliodorous (the Greek envoy of King Antialkidas of Taxilā) with the Supreme God, Devadeva Viṣṇu. This was in the 2nd century B.C., when the cult of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa (later considered as Kṛṣṇa's brother) was mentioned as prevalent, especially in Central India and the Deccan'.

Further Dr. Mukherjee observed that the *Bhāgavata-dharma* and Vāsudeva cult spread from the Yamunā valley to Central India, Rājputānā and Mahārāṣtra, and by the 2nd century B.C. it was a popular cult throughout India, attracting foreigners also. 'In Vidiśā, the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradyumna, associated with the *Pañcharātra* doctrine, is indicated by the inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century B.C. The celebrated inscription of Vidiśā, about 180 B.C. of the Greek convert Heliodorous mentioned Vāsudeva as the God of Gods

(*devadeva*), in whose honour the foreigner erected a flag staff with the image of Gaḍura on the top. The Nanāghāt Cave Inscription of the first century B.C. invokes both Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva among other deities ; while the Ghosundi and Hathibada Inscriptions mention Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta as having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called Nārāyaṇa vāta for Bhāgavat Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Tusam Inscription of the 4th or 5th century A.D. mentioned Yasastrāta as a devotee of Bhāgavat belonging to the Brāhman *Gotamagotra* who inherited the Yoga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas through many generations. * * According to a Syrian legend, the cult was prevalent in Syria as early as the second century B.C. reaching there by the familiar land-route of trade. The bid of Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism to become an orthodox Indian religion is clearly indicated in the second century B.C. by the assimilation of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa into the earlier Vedic gods, Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa'. Again the Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism 'was the most popular religion in the Gupta and post-Gupta epoch, and obtained converts from foreigners as well as from the Sudras and women'. Kālidāsa gave a superb expression to the swelling tide of *bhakti* in Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism of this age.[7]

Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar said that the name of Vāsudeva mostly occurs in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Bhāgavatam* and in different *Purāṇas*. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva. Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana, and Keśava do not appear to be Vṛṣṇi names and were given to Vāsudeva in subsequent times when his worship had widely spread.

The word Nārāyaṇa is similar to Nāḍāyana, which means the Gotra Nāḍāyana. In the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (X. 11), Nārāyaṇa is described with all its attributes of the Supreme Soul, which are usually found mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*.

7. (a) Vide Dr. R. K. Mukherjee : *A History of Indian Civilization* (second edition, 1958), pp. 152-53, 239, 242.

(b) 'In the *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa we find not only Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is also called Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa'.—Ibid., p. 242.

In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, he figures as the supreme god. We further find that Vāsudeva is identified with Nārāyaṇa, and Vāsudeva is again identified with Viṣṇu (*vyāpakatvāt viṣṇu* i.e. he who is all pervading, is known as Viṣṇu). Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in RV. Viṣṇu is also known as the highest region or soul—*parama-padam*. In epic times, Viṣṇu grew to be in every respect the Supreme Spirit, and Vāsudeva is identified with Viṣṇu. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* and *Aṇugītā*, we find the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. Again in the *Harivaṁśa* (vv. 5876-5878), *Vāyu-purāṇa* (chap. 98, vv 100-102), and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (II. 7), Kṛṣṇa has been described as Avatāra (Incarnation) and there we find identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa (cowherd-God).

The name Govinda does also occur in the *Bhagavad Gītā* and other parts of the *Mahābhārata*. It seems that the name Govinda is a latter form of Govid, which in the Ṛgveda, is used as an epithet of Indra in the sense of 'the finder of the cows'. The cowherds lived in a Ghoṣa or temporary encampment. Ghoṣa is further defined as Abhirapalli, which is generally understood as the enclosure of cowherds. Sir Bhāndārkar said that it is possible that the Ābhiras brought with them the name of Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. "The Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Kṛṣṇa as Kuṣṭo or Kṛṣto, and so the Christ of the Ābhiras was recognised as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa. The dalliance of Kṛṣṇa with cowherdesses, which introduced an element inconsistent with the advance of morality into the Vāsudeva religion......". In the *Pañcharātra* or *Bhāgavata* system, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is also found. The *Pañcharātra* system must have developed in about the third century B.C.......". However, there is a controversy among the scholars regarding the names of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Gopāla, etc.

Similarly there is a great controversy regarding the name as well as the first incorporation of the word 'Rādhā' in the

Vaiṣṇava literature. Most of the scholars are of the opinion that the word 'Rādhā' first occurred probably in Hāla Satavāhana's *Gahasattaśai* (*Gāthā-saptaśati*), written in the first or second-fifth century A.D. Vāṇabhatta mentioned about Hāla in his *Harṣacharita*, in the seventh century A.D. Hāla mentioned only once the word 'Rādhā' in his *Sattasai* or *Saptaśati*, in connection with Kṛṣṇa's *vrajalīlā* thus :

Muhamāru-eṇa taṃ kahṇa goraaṃ rāhi-āeṅ avaṇento/
Etāṇaṃ valaveeṇaṃ annānaṃ vi gora-aṃ harasi //[8]

Here 'rāhi-āeṅ' stands for 'Rādhā'. The meaning of the *śloka* is : 'O Kṛṣṇa, you have removed, the blow of your mouth, the dust from the mouth of Rādhā, and thus you have stolen the glory of these beloved ladies and other women'. Now, it is proved from the lines that there was one Gopī named Rādhā, who was very favourite to Kṛṣṇa. Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta said that the Divine couple (*yugala-mūrti*), inscribed in the temple-wall and discovered from Pāhāḍapur excavation, undoubtedly prove that the doctrine of Rādhā (*Rādhāvāda*) was prevalent even before the eighth century A.D. The mention of Rādhā is also found in Bhatta-nārāyaṇa's *Veṇī-saṁhārā* (drama) and Ānanda-vardhana's *Dvanyāloka*, in the eighth-ninth century A.D.

It is said that Śrī Chaitanya and Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Gosvāmīs gave Rādhā the high and prominent place in the Vaiṣṇava literature in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D., and it is proved by a Sanskrit *śloka*, which explains as to how the ancient human love-lyrics were gradually transformed into divine sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā*). The *śloka* runs thus :

Yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varastāḥ eva chaitrakṣapā-
ste conmīlita-mālatī-surabhayaḥ prauḍhāḥ kadambānilāḥ /
Sā chaivāsmi tathāpi tatra surata-vyāpāra-līlāvidhau-
revārodhasi vetasī-tarutale chetaḥ samutkanṭhate //[9]

8. मुहमारुएण तं कह्न गोरअं राहि आएँ अवणेन्तो ।
एताणँ वलवीणं अन्नाणं वि गोरअं हरसि ॥
9. यः कौमारहरः स एव हि वरस्ताः एव चैत्रक्षपा-
स्ते चोन्मीलितमालतीसुरभयः प्रौढ़ाः कदम्बानिलाः ।

That is, 'he is my husband, with whom I was intimate before my marriage. The same *chaitra-saṁkrānti* (i.e. the last day of the month of *chaitra*) has appeared again, and the same sweet fragrance of the full-blown *mālatī* flower, together with the breeze, are coming through the *kadamba* garden ; I am also present in this place, and the sweet remembrance of that conjugal love before my marriage, under the shade of *vetasa* creeper, on the bank of the river *Revā*, makes me mad and impatient'. It is said that Śrī Chaitanya recited twice this *śloka* before he met Śrī Jagannāth at Purī. Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī explains the inner significance of the *śloka*, as recited by Śrī Chaitanya, in his *Chaitanyacharitāmṛta* thus :

ये काले करेन जगन्नाथ दरशन ।
मने भावे कुरुक्षेत्रे पाञाछि मिलन ॥
*　　*　　*
कृष्ण लञा व्रजे याइ—एभाव अन्तर ॥
एइभावे नृत्यमध्ये पड़े एक श्लोक ।
सेइ श्लोकेर अर्थ केह नाहि बुझे लोक ॥

Further he said in the *Charitāmṛta* (*madhyalīlā*, first chapter) :

तथापि आमार मन हरे वृन्दावन ।
वृन्दावने उदय कराह आपन चरण ॥
*　　*　　*
आमा लइया पुनः लीला कर वृन्दावने ।
तवे आमार मनोवाञ्छा हयत पुरणे ॥

Rūpa Gosvāmī also commented on the above *ślokas* : '*yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ*', etc., in his *Padyāvali*, and said that they are the mystic talks of Rādhā with her beloved female companions (*sakhī*). He also composed a similar *śloka* : '*priyaṃ so'yaṃ*', etc. in this connection.

From those *ślokas* it is understood that the conception of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a divine child (*vāla-gopāla-mūrti*), connected with the sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, instead of Mathurā, Dvārakā, and other places, originated with

सा चैवास्मि तथापि तत्र सुरतव्यापारलीलाविधौ-
रेवारोधसि वेतसीतरुतले चेतः समुत्कण्ठते ॥

Śrī Chaitanya and his followers. And this fact is also proved by half of the *śloka*, recited by Chaitanya, while he fell in trance (*bhāva-samādhi*) at the sight of the top of the temple of Jagannāth at Purī, and the *śloka* is :

Prāsādagre nivasati puraḥ smera-vaktrāravindo,
Māmālokya smita-suvadano vāla-gopāla mūrtiḥ //[10]

It is very interesting to know as to how the simple rural love-episodes of the Bengali Ābhīra boys and girls were transformed into the divine sportive play or *līlā*. The Ābhīra boys used to dress themselves as *nāyaka* Kṛṣṇa, and the girls as their love-mates or *nāyikās*, which are profusely found in the ballads in East Bengal (*pūrva-vaṅga-gītikā*). Some are of the opinion that there are two reasons behind it : (1) firstly, many ballads or love-songs were current among the Ābhīra community, and they were composed within the atmosphere of the simple vIllages. Those ballads sprung all over the countries, in the form of *chaḍā* or lyrics. They were gradually incorporated in the mythico-historical *Purāṇas*, as they were very interesting themes for the composition of literature (*kāvya*), and (2) secondly Vaiṣṇavism together with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult began to spread under the influence of the Sena Kings, from eleventh-twelfth century A.D. The mystic poets composed songs or lyrics on the subject-matter, and they were much appreciated by the people of all communities. At last it so happened that no song or lyric was composed without the theme of Kṛṣṇa. Gradually religious and spiritual significances were attributed to those songs or lyrics, and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult became the central theme of the later Vaiṣṇava literature and spiritual *sādhanā*.

In the Vaiṣṇava *Sahajiyā* school, we find also the ontological

10. प्रासादग्रे निवसति पुरः स्मेरवक्त्रारविन्दो
मामालोक्य स्मितसुवदनो बालगोपालमूर्तिः ॥

Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that the *vāla-gopāla-mūrti* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa began to be worshipped by the Vaiṣṇava community after the twelfth century A.D. In the *prākṛt gāthā*, we also find the mention of 'अज्जवि बालो दामोदरो * *' etc.

principles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as the eternal enjoyer and enjoyed (*bhoktā* and *bhogya*). The Vaiṣṇava *Sahajiyā* school maintains the view that all men and women are physical manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. 'When men and women can, therefore, realize themselves as the manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā through the process of attribution (*āropa*), the love of any human couple is transformed into divine love which is eternally flowing between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and when the union of a human couple thus becomes the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the highest spiritual realization dawns on the state of union or *yugala*'. The esoteric Buddhist *Sahajiyā* school also follows the method of this *sādhanā*, the only difference lies in the adoptation of the principle of enjoyer and enjoyed, as the *Sahajiyā* Buddhism adopts *prajñā* and *upāya*, or *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* as the two primary attributes of the ultimate reality which is *sahaja*. That is, the Buddhist *Sahajiyās* conceived *sahaja* as *mahāsukha*, which is 'the unity of the duality, represented by man and woman as *upāya* and *prajñā*.[11] This method for the realization of the state of *sahaja*, said Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta, is essentially consisted of sexo-yogic practice. The Vaiṣṇavas supplied the element of love to it. The *sahaja* was then conceived as the supreme love which can be realized by the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who reside in the corporeal form of man and woman. This method of *sādhanā* seems to be the divinisation of the human love.

It has already been said that the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal, in the line of the Kṛṣṇa cult or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, grew along the tradition of the *Srīmadbhāgavata* and the *Purāṇas*, 'and there was perhaps', said Dr. Śaśībhūṣan Dāśgupta, 'through the life of Chaitanya and some renowned Gosvāmīs, some influence also of the devotional movement of the South. The first literary record of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the famous lyrical poem the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. After him Chaṇḍīdās and Vidyāpati (who, though a Maithili poet,

11. It has been discussed before in connection with 'Philosophy of the Charyā'. *Charyās* are the mystic songs of the Vajrayāni Siddhāchāryas.

was more popular in Bengal than in his native province) sang the immortal songs of the eternal love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and were precursors, as some scholars are disposed to think, of Śrī Chaitanya, * * Vaiṣṇavite apostle like Mādhavendra-puri, Advaitāchārya, Śrīvāsa and others of course flourished just before the advent of Chaitanya, but the advent of Chaitanya was some thing like a fruition of all their devotional penances, and it was an event which was really epoch-making in religion and literature of Bengal. Chaitanya, as he is interpreted by his followers, embodies in him the quintessence of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is the realizer and the realized in the same personality'.

'Through his life and teachings Chaitanya preached a doctrine of divine love, which was philosophically systematised and theologically codified by the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, viz., Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunāthdās, Raghunāth Bhatta, Gopāl Bhatta and Jīva Gosvāmī. The philosophical and theological system, known as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism (i.e. the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal), is the contribution of those six Gosvāmīs, who were all religious apostles, inspired by the life and teachings of Chaitanya. Pre-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal generally flourished with the legends of Kṛṣṇa and his dalliances with the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana and particularly with Rādhā, but in post-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇavism, the divinity of Chaitanya as the synthesis of the two aspects of the same reality as the lover and the beloved was recognized and emphasised, and as a result thereof post-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇava literature laid the same stress, if not more, on the life and teachings of Chaitanya as on the legends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[12]

12. (a) Vide *Obscure Religious Cults*, pp. xlii—xliii.

(b) Some are of the opinion that Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, together with the cult of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa evolved in the Gauḍadeśa in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

But it is a fact that the ancient *Bhāgavatatantra* of Mathurā, founded by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, and the *Bhagavata-tantra*, evolved in Magadha in the Gupta age, were different from the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gauḍa-Vaṅga. So

Before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya, *padāvalīs* were composed with the theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but after Chaitanya's initiation into *sannyāsa* (renunciation) and his recognition as the incarnation of Śrī-Rādhā, the trend of composition of the *padāvalīs* took a new course with a novel outlook. The sportive play of Kṛṣṇa as specially Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-viraha*) began to be realized through those of Chaitanya. Then the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa doctrine was interpreted through the medium of the divine activities of Chaitanya, and that was the chief object of the Vaiṣṇava composers (*padakartās*) during Chaitanya's time. The Chaitanya cult came into the foreground, instead of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, just as the historical or metaphysical Buddha receded back into background, giving rise to his descending images of Maitreya and Amitābha. Gradually *mahajāna-padāvalīs* were composed, collected, and sung in the form of *kīrtana*, and *gaurachandrikā* was introduced in praise of Śrī Chaitanya, for the fuller realization of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (*Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā*). In this way, the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā* became gradually a secondary one, giving prominency to *Chaitanyalīlā*, and Śrī Chaitanya became familiar as Śrī Gaurāṅga (incarnation of Śrī Rādhā) among his devout followers.

We find some *padagītis*, current among the Ālvāras of the ancient Vaiṣṇava community of South India in the fifth-ninth century A.D. The *padagītis* were known as the *divya-prabandha*, and from the very name we know that they used to be sung with metres, melody (*rāga*), rhythm, and tempo. They were nearly four thousand in number. The Ālvāras used to conceive themselves as the devoted woman or *nāyikās* of Viṣṇu, and the Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa as the only *nāyaka*.[13] J. S. M. Hooper trans-

the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, it is said, evolved from the admixture of the doctrines of Viṣṇu-Nārāyana, as depicted in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Pañcharātra*, and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the *Purāṇa*, and Kālidāsa's *kāvyas*.

13. Perhaps the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas* of Vṛndāvana incorporated this idea from the Ālavāras, who maintained that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the only *puruṣa* and all others were women, in Vṛndāvana.

lated many of the Tāmil hymns of the Ālvāras, and in them we find the mention of one Nāppinnāi, who was described as the beloved *Gopī* of Kṛṣṇa, the divine Incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no mention of Rādhā in their hymns. It is said that Kṛṣṇa once danced the dance of *kuravavai-kūttu*, along with Balarāma and beloved Nāppinnāi.[14]

After Jayadeva, many mystic poets like Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdās of Nānnura, Līlā-śuka Vilvamaṅgala Ṭhākur of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, Umāpatidhara, the court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇasena Umāpati Ojhā of Mithilā, Vidyāpati, the court-poet of Rājā Śiva-siṅgha, flourished from the twelfth to sixteenth century A.D. In the fifteenth-sixteenth century, there flourished Rāy Rāmānanda, Yośorāja Khāṅ, Murārīgupta, Naraharidās, Vāsudeva Ghose, Mādhava Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Raghunāthdās, Vṛdāvanadās, Balarāmadās, and other scholars and mystic poets in Bengal and Orissā, and they were all the followers of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. Most of them were the personal attaches and followers of Śrī Chaitanya. Some of the Vaiṣṇava poets flourished at the same time in Āssām, and they were Śaṅkaradev, Mādhavadev, Pītāmbarakavi, Nārāyaṇadev, and others. They also composed *padagītis*, which were sung with great unity in the spheres of language, religion and culture of Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Āssām. The *avahatta* language was gradually replaced by the *vrajabuli*, to some extent. The Vaiṣṇava poets of Āssām and Orissā were influenced by the *vrajabuli*, in the composition of the *padas* or *gānas*.

Now, what do we mean by the language, *vrajabuli* ? Does it mean spoken language of the *Vrajamaṇḍala*, i.e. of Mathurā, Vṛndāvana and their adjacent places ? No, it is quite different from the spoken language of the *Vraja* or *Vrajamaṇḍala*. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that the ancient composers of the *padas* or *padagītis* selected it as the language of the Vaiṣṇava

14. Vide S. K. Aiyanger: *Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in South India*, and Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta : *Śrī Rādhār Kramavikāśa* (latest ed.).

padāvalī-kīrtana. They called it *vṛjāvāli*, and not *vraja* or *vṛjabuli*, and for this reason many people mistook it as an original language of the *Vrajamaṇḍala*. They took it also as the divine language of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, they erroneously found a similarity between the spoken language of *Vrajamaṇḍala* and that of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and specially between their intonation and grammar. But, it has been said that *vṛja* or *vṛajabuli* is absolutely different from the spoken language of Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places. *Vṛajabuli* may be considered as the *miśra-maithila* language, evolved in the end of 15th century A.D. in Bengal, Orissā and Āssām.

The Language, Vrajabuli

The *vrājabuli* or *vrajabhāṣā* was considered to be the language of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that *vrajabuli* as the language, evolved from the language of *avahatta*, being much influenced by the languages, *Maithilī*, *Hindi*, *Rājasthānī*, *Bengalī*, *Prākṛt*, *Odissi*, etc. in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Vidyāpati wrote the book, *Kirtilatā* in prose and poetry in the old language of *avahatta*. It is said that *vrajabuli* evolved and were developed in the Court of Tirhut-Moraṅga, in Nepal.[15] For the Turkish invasion in South-Behār and Bengal, many poets and Paṇḍits took shelter in the Court of Tirhut-Moraṅga (in Nepal), and that was the cause for the

15. Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji wrote: 'Vidyāpati Ṭhākur' (end of 14th—beginning of 15th century) is the greatest writer of Maithili. Vidyāpati's songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa .....are among the fairest flowers in Indian lyric of Bengal. These exerted a tremendous influence on the Vaiṣṇava lyric of Bengal. They spread into Bengal, and were admired and imitated by Bengali poets of Bengal ...... This mixed dialect came to be called Brajabuli or *Speech of Vraja*, from the fact that the poems composed in it described Kṛṣṇa's early life......... which had for its scene the Vraja district, round about Brindāvan, near Mathurā. Vide ODBL (2nd edition, London, 1970), p. 103.

development of a new literature and language like *Kṛṣṇalīlā*, and *vrajabuli*. *Vrajabuli* was first introduced in Mithilā, and then was used by Umāpati Ojhā in the 14th century A.D., and by Vidyāpati in 15th century A.D. In the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛta*, we find a *vrajabuli-pada* of Rāy Rāmānanda, quoted from his *Jagannāthballabh-Nāṭaka*. As for example :

Pahilahi rāga nayana-bhaṅga bhela /
Anudina vaḍhala avadhinā gela //

Husen Sāhā and his son Nasarat Sāhā also composed some *padas* (*padagānas*) in the name of Kaviśekhara and Vidyāpati. Husen Sāhā was sometimes the court-poet of Gauḍa-Rāj. In the 16th-17th century A.D., Kavi Govindadās Kavirāj infused new life in the *vrajabuli* or *vaiṣṇava-padāvalī*. Śaṅkara-dev and his disciple, Mādhavadās, introduced *vrajabuli* in Kāmatā-Kāmarūpa in Āssām.

In the 18th-19th century A.D. *vrajabuli* was also in use in the *pada-sāhitya*. Dr. S. K. Sen beautifully discussed the method of construction of *vrajabuli*, its grammar, and *dhvani-vyañjanā*, etc. in the books, *Vaiṣṇaviya-Nibandha*,[16] and *History of Vrajabuli*.[17]

After the Sen Kings, and especially after Rājā Lakṣmaṇasen, the Vaiṣṇava lyrics were greatly appreciated in Nepāl and other Himālayān regions. Śrīnivāsa-Malla, the then King of Nepāl, composed many *padagītis*, which were not inferior to those, composed in Mithilā, Bengal, and Orissā in the fourteenth-nineteenth century A.D. The themes of those *padagītis* were in praise of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya (fifteenth century A.D.), the themes of the *Vaiṣṇava-padāvalīs*, *nāmagāna* or *nāma-goṣṭha* were the legends of the sportive plays or love dalliance of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and their female companions or *Gopīs*, that happened

16. Vide pp. 24-48 (published by Rūpā, Calcutta, 1970).
17. Published by the Calcutta University.

at Dvārkā, Mathurā, and other adjacent places, depicted in the *Bhāgavata* and other epic literature. Again it seems that almost all the songs, including the enigmatic songs, ascribed to Chaṇḍīdās, known as *rāgātmikā-padas* and the texts were composed by the exponants of the *Sahajiyā* cult in the post-Chaitanya period, and mostly in or after the seventeenth century A.D. Now regarding the types of song, it has already been said that before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya, different types of *gītis* like *nātagīti*, *śivāyana*, *charyā*, and *vajra gītis*, *maṅgala-gāna*, *jhumura*, *pāñchālī*, *rāmāyaṇa-gāna*, *bāula*, etc. were current in Bengal. Different group-songs or *pālāgānas* were practised in Burdwān, Veerabhūma, and different corners of *Rāḍhadeśa*, in West Bengal. Those group-songs were composed with the musical sketches or plots like *goṣṭhalīlā*, *māthuralīlā*, *mānabhañjana*, *rāsa*, *nandotsava*, etc. They were similar to ancient type of *kīrtana* or *nāmagāna*. They are still surviving in West Bengal under the name of *vādāi*, and they are exclusively sung by groups of singers on the occasions of *janmāṣṭamī* and *nandotsava* celebrations of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. All these *gītis* were possessed of classical *rāgas* and *tālas*.

The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal evolved out of the materials of variant types of *gītis* like *bāul*, *maṅgala*, *pāñchālī*, etc., which were current before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya. It also drew its inspiration from the Tāntric Buddhist *dohās*, *charyā* and *vajra*, and the mystic *prabandha-gītis* of the *Gītagovinda*. Some are of the opinion that the themes of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* were nourished by the simple ballads, composed of thousands of rural love-episodes of the heroes and heroines of East Bengal.

From Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) we come to know that the *maṅgala*, *charyā*, *pāñchālī*, *jhumura*, *charcharī*, *paddhaḍī*, *rāhaḍī*, and *kīrtana* types of songs were possessed of classical forms or patterns. Śāraṅgadeva said in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* that the *prabandha* type of songs was mainly of two kinds, *niryukta* and *aniryukta*. The *niryukta* type of song was possessed of metre (*chanda*), rhythm (*tāla*), tempo (*laya*), and melody *rāga*), whereas the *aniryukta* one, being free from metre, rhythm

and tempo, was possessed of only melody or *rāga*. This has also been described by Bharata (second century A.D.) in his *Nātyaśāstra*. The *charcharī* or *chāñchara*, *charyā* and *maṅgala* types of songs were of the *niryukta* type of the *prabandha gītis*.

Besides *niryukta* and *aniryukta* types, the *prabandhas* were again divided in three classes, *sūḍa*, *ālī* or *ālī-saṁśraya*, and *viprakīrṇa*. The *sūḍa* class of songs were further divided into eight classes, and they were : *elā*, *karaṇa*, *ḍheṅki*, *vartani*, *rāsa*, *ekatālī*, etc. The *āli-saṁśraya* type of songs were twenty-four and *viprakīrṇa-prabandhas* were thirty-six in number. The *charcharī*, *charyā*, *paddhaḍī*, *veeraśrī*, *maṅgalāchāra*, *dhavala*, *maṅgala*, and others were included in the *viprakīrṇa* group.

The classical *karaṇa-prabandha* was further classified into eight types, and they were : *svara*, *pāta*, *bandha*, *pada*, *tena*, *viruda chitra* and *miśra*. These eight *karaṇas* have been described by Śāraṅgadeva and his commentators, Siṁhabhupāla[18] and Kallināth. Each *karaṇa* type of song was possessed of some special feature. They were sometimes sung in unision, and some of the parts of the songs were sometimes repeated. The drums and dances with raised hands accompanied the songs, and they remind us the scenes of the mystic Bāuls of Bengal and Sufi Darvises of Arabia (vide Brown : *Darbishes*, Oxford). This type of dance is prevalent in *kīrtana*, even in these days.

The eight *karaṇa* types of songs were further divided into three classes, and they were ; *maṅgalārambha*, *ānandavardhana*, and *kīrtilaharī* or *kīrtipūrvikā-laharī*.[19] The *kīrtilaharī* was a

Siṁhabhupāla said :

18. अष्टधा करणं तत्र स्वराद्यं पाटपर्वकम् ।।
बन्धादिमं पदाद्यं च तेनाद्यः बिरुदादिमम् ।
चित्राद्यं मिश्रकरणमित्येषां * * ।।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।१३३-१३४

19. मङ्गलारम्भ-आनन्दवर्धनं कीर्तिपूर्विका ।
लहरीति त्रिधा तानि प्रत्येकं गानभेदतः ।।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।१४२

special type of song, that used to be sung in praise of gods, heroes, or supermen as in the *kīrtana* of Bengal and all other countries of India. Śāraṅgadeva said about the special feature of the *prabandha*, *kīrtanalaharī* thus :

Udgrāhasya dvitīyārdhaṃ dhruvārdha-sthānagaṃ yadi /
Itarat-pūrvavat-kīrtilaharī kīrtitā tadā //[20]

During the presentation of the *prabandha-gīti*, *kīrtanalaharī*, half of the music-part (*dhātu*) was sung, and in place of the other half, the second part of the music-part, *udgrāha* was presented with tune, and the rest was similar to the *prabandha-gīti*, *ānandavardhana*. Some of the parts were repeated again and again. Sometimes the *prabandha-gītis* were accompanied by the clapping of hands and beating of drums.

Like *kīrtilaharī*, *charyā* was a *prabandha* type of song. It was absolutely spiritual. It was divided into two classes, *pūrṇa* (complete) and *apūrṇa* (incomplete). They were again classified into two, *sama-dhruvā* and *viṣama-dhruvā*. One or two stanzas were repeated in the *samadhruvā* type of songs, and only the music-part, *dhruva* was repeated in the *viṣamadhruvā* type. The *charyā* contained generally three music-parts, *udgrāha*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*, and *melāpaka* was dropped.

Like *charyā*, *maṅgala* was also a *prabandha* type of song. It was sung with the stanzas, named *maṅgala* with slow tempo (*vilamvita laya*) *maṅgala* metre[21], and *kaiśiki* or *botta-rāga*. The *maṅgala* type of song was an auspicious one, and Śaraṅgadeva said : '*kaiśikī-rāge botta-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vāchikaiḥ padair-vilamvita-layena maṅgalo geyaḥ. Athavā maṅgala-nāmnā chandasā.*'[22] The *kaiśikī* or *kaiśika* was a *grāmarāga*, and it used to be sung in the dramatic song (*nāṭya-gīti*) at the end of the

20. उद्ग्राहस्य द्वितीयार्धं ध्रुवार्धस्थानगं यदि ।
इतरत्पूर्ववत्कीर्तिलहरी कीर्तिता तदा ॥

21. There is no Vedic metre called *maṅgala*, and it seems it was adopted sometime before or during Śāraṅgadeva.

22. कैशिकीरागे बोट्टरागे वा कल्याणवाचिकैः पदैर्विलम्बितलयेन मङ्गलो गेयः ।
अथवा मङ्गलनाम्ना छन्दसा । —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ।

play : '*saṃhāre kaiśikaḥ proktaḥ* * * *brahmaṇā samudāhṛtam.*'[23] That is, Brahmā-bharata of the pre-Christian era said that the *grāmārāga* should be applied at the end of a drama. It evolved out of the *jātirāga, karmāravi.* Śāraṅgadeva called it the *śuddha-kaiśika,* which was different from the *bhinna-kaiśika, takka-kaiśika, kaiśika-madhyama,* and *bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama,* etc.

The *botta* or *bhota* i.e. *bhotta-rāga* was a formalised regional tune of the Himālayān *Bhotadeśa* (Bhūtān, Tibet, etc.). There was (and still there is) a cultural link between Tibet and India, and the Indian musicologists adopted this tune from the *Bhotadeśa,* as *śaka, turuṣka-toḍī,* etc. were adopted. The *botta* or *bhotta rāga* has been mentioned by Mataṅga in the *Bṛhaddeśī,* so it is probable that it was adopted in the Indian stock before the fifth-seventh century A.D. It evolved out of the *jātirāga, ṣaḍja-madhyama.* Śāraṅgadeva said that this *grāmarāga* or *rāga* was very favourite to Śiva, the divine husband of Bhavānī or Devī Durgā : '*utsave viniyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhaḥ*'.[24]

Kīrtana is a *nibaddha* type of *prabandha gīti,* and is possessed of metre, melody, rhythm, and tempo. Like *kīrti-laharī* or *kīrtipūrvikā-laharī,* it is a special type of song that is sung in praise of God, hero or superman. The word '*kīrti*' signifies reputation, praise, or greatness. Paṇḍit Vāchaspati clarified it in his dictionary, *Vāchaspatyābhidhāna* : *kīrti—kīrta+ ktin*'. *Khyātibhede amaraḥ. Khyātibhedaścha dhārmikatyādi praśasta-dharmavattvena nānā-deśiya kathana jñāna-viṣayatā. Kīrtiścha-jivato-mṛtasya velyatra viśeṣo nāsti.* * * *tatra dānādi-prabhāvā khyātiḥ kīrtiḥ sauryādi-prabhavā khyātiryaśa iti kochid yaśa-kīrtyaur-bhedamāhuḥ* * *.[25] Manu also explained the word '*kīrti*' as

23. संहारे कैशिकः प्रोक्तः * * ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृतम् ।
24. उत्सवे विनियोक्तव्यो भवानीपतिवल्लभः ।

—सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ।

25. कीर्ति—कीर्त+क्तिन् । ख्यातिभेदे अमरः । ख्यातिभेदश्च धार्मिकत्यादि प्रशस्त-धर्मवत्त्वेन नानादेशीय कथन ज्ञानविषयता । कीर्तिश्च जीवतोमृतस्य वेत्यत्र विदेशो नास्ति । * * तत्र दानादिप्रभावा ख्यातिः कीर्तिः शोर्यादि-प्रभवा ख्यातिर्यश इति कोचिद यशकीर्त्यौर्भेदमाहुः * * ।

as '*prajñāṃ yaśascha kīrtiścha brahmavarchasāmeva cha*'.[26] Therefore *kīrtana* does not mean only the *Vaiṣṇava-padāvalī-gīti* in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, or *Bāla-gopāla-mūrti*, but signifies also all kinds of music that are sung in praise of them, who are superior in quality, power, learning, etc. In the *Pañcharātra* literature and *Bhāgavata*, the word '*kīrtana*' has been used as a special type of song in praise of the glory, greatness and divine sportive plays (*līlā*) of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, we find the mention of :

(a) *Randhrān veṇo-radhara-sudhāyā punayan gopa-vṛndair-vṛndāraṇyaṃ svapada-ramaṇaṃ praviśad gīta-kīrtiḥ*.[27]

(b) * * *śravaṇāddarśanadhyānānmayi bhāvo'nu-kīrtanām*.[28]

(c) *Gāyantya ucchairamumeva saṁhatā*.[29]

The word '*gīta-kīrtiḥ*' signifies '*gīta-kīrtiḥ gītā-kīrtiḥ yaśaḥ yasya sa kṛṣṇaḥ*', etc.[30] Therefore, *kīrtana* is synonymous with *gīta-kīrti*. In the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, *kīrtana* has been defined as music, sung in raised voice, in praise of the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla-bhatta was contemporary to Śrī Chaitanya. He wrote an authoritative book on the *Smṛti* : *Haribhaktivilāsa*, where it is mentioned : '*kalau saṁkīrtya keśavam*'[31] or '*kalau taddhari-kīrtanāt*'.[32] While commenting on it, Sanātana Gosvāmī, said : '*saṁkīrtya samyak ucchāirucchāryyeti sadyaḥ svarupānanda-viśeṣārthamuktam*'.[33] Besides, he said that the word *saṁkīrtana* signifies the singing of the holy name, in praise of God or any

26. प्रज्ञां यशश्च कोर्तिश्च ब्रह्मवर्चशामेव च ।
27. रन्ध्रान वेणोरधरसुधाया पुनयन गोपवृन्दै-
 वृन्दारण्यं स्वपदरमणं प्राविशद गीतकीर्तिः ॥
28. * * श्रवणाद्दर्शनध्यानान्मयि भावोऽनुकीर्तनाम् (भागवत १०।२३।२६) ।
29. गायन्त्ये उच्चैरमुमेव संहता (—भागवत १०।१३।४) ।
30. गीतकीर्तिः गीताकीर्तिः यशः यस्य स कृष्णः ।
31. कलौ संकीर्त्य केशवम् ।
32. कलौ तद्धरिकीर्तनात् ।
33. सङ्कीर्त्य सम्यक उच्चैरुच्चार्य्येति सद्यः स्वरूपानन्दविशेषार्थमुक्तम् ।

other deity : *'saṁkīrtanaṃ nāmocchāraṇaṃ gīiaṃ stutiścha nāmamayī'*.[34] Gopāla-bhatta prescribed *kīrtana* as a means to spiritual *sādhanā* for the Vaiṣṇavas.

In the *Harivaṁśa* (200 B.C.), we find that the songs, in praise of both Viṣṇu and Śiva, were accompanied with dances. As the *sāmaga* Brāhmiṇs used to sing in praise of Hari, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, so the dancing girls like Devadāsīs, Vidyādharīs and Apsarās sang the *stutigānas* of Śiva with dances, hand poses, and musical instruments. As for example, we find :

(a) Udgīyamānaṃ vipraiścha sāmabhiḥ sāmagair-harim.[35]

(b) Nṛtyanti nṛtya-kuśalā gāyanti sma cha kanyakāḥ /
Vidyādharasthānyatra stuvantaḥ śaṁkaraṃ
śivam //[36]

Now, what do we mean by *stuti* or *stutigāna* ? Sāyaṇa (14th-15th century A.D.) said in his commentary on the Sāmaveda : 'गुणसंकीर्तनपरः पदसमूहः स्तुतिः।' He also divided the *stuti* type of songs into two, *śastra* and *stotra*, and he said : 'अप्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः शस्त्र ; प्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः स्तोत्रम्' ।' Further he stated : 'स्तोतव्यायाः देवतायाः स्तावकैर्गुणैः संवन्ध-कीर्तनं स्तौति-शंसतिधात्वोर्वाच्योऽर्थः।' In fact, *stuti* is a kind of *mantra-vākya*, in praise of the deities : 'यदा तु गुण-द्वारेणानुस्मरणीय-देवता-स्वरूप - प्रकाशण-पराणि मन्त्रवाक्यानि स्युः।' The Vedic *dhūrgānaṃ* (धूर्गानं) was a type of *stuti-gāna*, in which the *sāmans* were often repeated with three stanzas or *ṛcs*. During Śāraṅgadeva's time (early thirteenth century A.D.), we find the practice of the *brahmagītis* like *kapāla* and

34. सङ्कीर्तनं नामोच्चरणं गीतं स्तुतिश्च नाममयी ।
These have been mentioned in the previous chapter also.

35. उदगीयमानं विप्रैश्च सामभिः सामगैर्हरिम् ।
—हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व ११५।५

36. नृत्यन्ति नृत्यकुशला गायन्ति स्म च कन्यकाः ।
विद्याधरस्तथान्यत्र स्तुवन्तः शंकरं शिवम् ॥
—हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व ८६।१४

kambala. Kallināth said : '*prākpūrvaṃ śaṁkara-stutau śaṁkara-stutiṃ viṣayī-kṛtya brahma-prokta-padaiḥ*', etc.[37] Siṁhabhupāla said : '*iti brahma-proktairjātiprastāre kathitai padairuktaiḥ kapālāni gāyan kalyāṇaṃ bhajate*'.[38] The author of the *Harivaṁśa* said : '*pūjārthaṃ deva-devasya gāndharvaṃ nṛtyameva cha*'.[39] These *stutigānas* or *kīrtanas* accompanied the *hallīsaka* dance, and the *chālikya* type of songs. Ugrasena and Yādavas presented a dramatic play with the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, assisted by Bhadranata. The *hallīsaka* dance, *chālikya* songs, and other dramatic songs are mentioned in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, *Nirukta*, *Garga-saṃhitā*, *Pāṇinisūtra*, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, and in different classical Sanskrit literature, *Purāṇas*, *Pañchatantras*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, etc. The ancient *hallīsaka* dance and the *chālikya* type of songs were connected with the *rāsalīlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs.

Regarding *hallīsaka* dance, Dhāreśvara Śrī Bhojadeva said in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*,

मण्डलेन तु यत् स्त्रीणां नृत्यं हल्लीसकं तु तत ।
तत्र नेता भवेदेको गोपस्त्रीणां हरिर्यथा ॥

Further he said that *hallīsaka* is a kind of *rāsa* (dance), accompanied by rhythm and time-units : 'तदिदं हल्लीसकमेव तालबन्धविशेषयुक्तं रास एवेत्युच्यते'। Regarding *rāsalīlā*, we find in the *Garga-saṁhitā*,

श्रीरागं चापि हिन्दोलं रागमेवं पृथक पृथक ।
अष्टतालस्त्रिभिर्ग्रामैः स्वरैः सप्तभिरग्रतः ॥
नृत्यैर्नानाविधैरमैर्हावभावसमन्वितैः ।
तोपयन्त्वो हरिं राधां कटाक्ष्यैर्व्रजगोपिकाः ॥

We find also in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* :

रामकृष्णदायोः गोपा ननृतुर्युयुधुर्जगुः ।
कृष्णास्य नृत्यतः केचिज्जगुः केचिदवादयन ॥
वेणु-पाणितलैः श्रृङ्गै प्रशशंसुरथापरे ।
गौपजातिप्रतिच्छन्नदेहा गोपाज्ञरूपिणः ॥
इडिरे कृष्ण-रामौ च नटा इव नटान नृप ।

37. प्राक्पूर्वं शंकरस्तुतौ शंकरस्तुति विषयीकृत्य ब्रह्मप्रोक्तपदैः * * ।
38. इति ब्रह्मप्रोक्तैर्जातिप्रस्तारे कथितैः पदैरुक्तैः कपालानि गायन कल्याणं भजते ।
39. पूजार्थं देवदेवस्य गान्धर्वं नृत्यमेव च ।
—विष्णुपर्व ६८।५२

These dances (*nṛtyas*) and songs (*kīrtanas*) were known as the *rāsakrīḍā*, *jalakrīḍā*, *chālikyakrīḍā*, *nṛtyakrīḍā*, *nātyakrīḍā*, *vaṁśa-nṛtyī*, *holika-mahotsava*, *vasantotsava*, etc. Paṇḍit Śāstrī Fārke said : '* * *vādyādinā hastamita-kāṣṭhadaṇḍa-dvayena vāghāta-puraḥsaraṃ maṇḍalākāraṃ nṛtyanto gāyanti*'.[40] Further we find in the *Garga-saṁhitā*,

नृत्यन्तः कृष्णपुरतः श्रीकृष्ण इव मैथिल ।
राधावेशधरा गोप्यः शतचन्द्राननप्रभाः ।।

From this it is evident that the songs or *kīrtanas*, in praise of Kṛṣṇa, were always accompanied with classical dances. In his talk on *The Kathak Dance—Its Origin*[41], Dr. G. D. Vyāsa said that *hallīsaka*, *nātya-rāsaka* or *charcharī*, and *rāsa* were placed in the category of *uparūpakas*. Bhāsa also mentioned them about *hallīsaka* in his *Bālacharita*, and Śrī Harṣa about *charcharī* in his *Ratnāvalī*. '*Charcharī* is exclusively intended for the spring. In the *vṛja* language, it is known as as *chañchara*, *dhāmāra* and *phāga*, and is regularly performed during the days of *holi*. There are special music compositions for it in the difficult *dhāmāra-tāla*, and they too are named as *dhāmāras*'. He further said : 'The *kīrtanas* make the resourceful music of Vaiṣṇavism. They form an important part of the *dhruvapada* school, and originally the music of the *Kathak* dance. * * The *kīrtanas* have attributed to Kṛṣṇa poses like Tribhaṅgī and Giridhārī. They have described movements and Maṇḍalas like *Udghata*, *Sañcha*, *Urapa*, *Tirapa*, *Lāga* and *Dāt*. They have mentioned gaits like *Gat Mayanda* (elephant), *Haṁsa* and *Mriga Marāla* and moreover, a distinctive gait, *Natavara Gati*, and the Kathaka dance is also known for its Natvari. As regards the *Āṅgika-Abhinaya*, *kīrtanas* have indicated various positions and movements of the head, neck and arms, and expressions such as *Vrija-Vilāsa*, *Lāsya Hāsa* and *Bhrikuti-Vilāsa*. As regards

40. '* * वाद्यादिना हस्तमितकाष्ठदण्डद्वयेन वाघातपुरःसरं मण्डलाकारं नृत्यन्तो गायन्ति ।'

41. Vide *Akāśavāṇī* (AIR), Vol. No. XXIII, No. 32, August 10, 1958, p. 12.

hand-movements, *kīrtanas* have freely used the word '*Hastaka-Bheda-Dikhave*', which means '*Hasta-Abhinayas* of the different types' should be exhibited. It should be mentioned that Dr. Vyāsa discussed about the ancient type of *kīrtana*, accompanied with dances and hand-poses, that evolved in connection with the various Kṛṣṇa episodes. This type of *kīrtana* also originated under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism, and still it maintains the old tradition, different from that of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, evolved under the influence of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, probably in the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

It has been said that before Śrī Chaitanya introduced *nāma-kīrtana*[42], *nāmagāna* or *nāma-goṣṭha* was prevalent in Bengal, and specially in *Rāḍadeśa* (i.e. in Beerbhūm, Katwā and some other portions of Burdwān). The *nāmagāna* or *nāmagoṣṭha* used to be accompanied by *mṛdaṅga* (*khola*), *cymbals* (*karatāla*), and dancing with raised hands. It has also been mentioned that during Śrī Chaitanya's time, different types of classico-folk songs like *hāf-ākhḍāi*, *kavi-gāna*, *tarjā*, *bāul*, etc. were current in Bengal. It is said that Yavana Haridās introduced *ākhḍāi* and *kavi-gāna*, and Svarūpadāsa and Sanātanadāsa helped him in this matter. Fuliā, on the bank of *Betra*-river in Nadīyā, was the main seat of culture of these types of songs. The musicians of Sāntipur, Navadvīpa, and Fuliā, in the district of Nadīyā, composed the divine episodes of *sakhī-saṁvāda*, *māna*, *māna-bhañjana*, *jugala-milana*, *māthura*, etc., containing Śrī Kṛṣṇa's divine sports (*līlā*) of Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā.

42. Vṛndāvanadās said,

शिष्यगण बलेन केमन संकीर्तन ।
आपने शिखाय प्रभु शचीर नन्दन ॥
हरि हरये नमः कृष्ण यादवाय नमः ।
गोपाल गोविन्द राम श्रीमधुसूदन ॥
दिशा शिखायेन प्रभु हाते तालि दिया ।
आपनि कीर्तन करे शिष्यगण लइया ॥

Narahari Sarkār, Vāsudeva Ghoṣ and other contemporary Vaiṣṇava savants described it in their *padagītis*.

If we study the source of origin of *kīrtana* i.e. *nāma-kīrtana*, as introduced by Śrī Chaitanya, we find that it evolved out of the remains of classico-regional *charyā* and *vajra-gītis*, *Gītagovinda-gāna*, *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, *nāṭagīti*, *bāul*, etc. Though it was very simple, yet it followed the *śāstric* rules of metre (*chanda*), melody (*rāga*), rhythm (*tāla*), and tempo (*laya*), and was included in the *nibaddha* type of music. It was afterwards developed by Ṭhākur Narottamadās, in the sixteenth century A.D. Narottamadās devised a new mode of *kīrtana*, on the basis of *nāma-kīrtana* and ancient type of *nāmagāna* in one side, and *vilamvita* (slow) type of classical *dhruvapada* song, on the other. He mastered *dhruvapada*, when he was at Vṛndāvana, accompanied by Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa. It is said that Haridās was initiated in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava religion, founded by Śrī Chaitanya, and being one of the noted Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas*, he was known as Svāmī Haridās, and as the founder of the *Haridāsī* or *Sakhī* sect, he was also recognized as 'Svāmī', the Master. Some are of the opinion that though Svāmī Haridās was the founder of the *Haridāsī* or *Sakhī* sect, yet he was not really initiated in the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, and he had only great regard for the neo-Vaiṣṇavism founded by Śrī Chaitanya. It seems that he had no special philosophical doctrine of his own, and he adopted the *Sakhībhāva* in his spiritual *sādhanā*, as his beloved deity was Śrī Kuñjavihārī. But his followers at Vṛndāvana recognized him as a staunch follower of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism. They say that Śrī Chaitanya himself adopted the *Rādhā-bhāva* in his life, as he himself 'placed himself in the position of Rādhā and longed in all the tormenting pangs of heart for union with his beloved Kṛṣṇa'. It is also found that the æsthetic attitude of the Vaiṣṇava poets, headed by Jayadeva, Chaṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, was *Sakhī-bhāva*, rather than *Rādhā-bhāva*. Dr. Śaśībhūṣan Dāśgupta said: 'It is to be noted that in the religious discourses, which took place between Śrī Chaitanya and Rāy Rāmānanda, the latter stressed *Sakhī-bhāva* as the best means for realising divine love. * * The general Vaiṣṇava view is that *jīva*, being the *taṭastha-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa,

is, after all, a Prakṛti and its pride as being the Puruṣa (*puruṣābhimāna*) must be removed before it can be permitted to have its proper place, in the eternal region of *svarūpa-śakti*, and even then only as *Sakhī*, rather than as Rādhā, and never as Kṛṣṇa'. Nabha-Dāsajī's statement in the *Bhaktamāla* and even that of Prof. Wilson in the *Religious Sects of the Hindus* are not wholly correct and historical. It is possible that Svāmī Haridās or Svāmī Haridās-Gosvāmī adopted the religious attitude of *Sakhī-bhāva*, following the ideal of Jayadeva, Vaḍu Chaṇḍīdās, Vidyāpati, and other latter Vaiṣṇava savants, and he was contemporary of Jīva-Gosvāmī, Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī, and other senior Vaiṣṇava savants of the Chaitanya fold, he was undoubtedly influenced by them.

Svāmī Haridās was born in *Ucchagrāma*, in the district of Multān. It was afterwards named as Haridāspur. Some are of the opinion that he was born in Hossiārpur, in the district of Āligarḥ. Others hold that Haridasā's birth-place was at Rājpur, half a mile away from Vṛndāvana. But the majority of scholars admit Haridāspur in Multān as the birth-place of Svāmī Haridās. There are also much controversies regarding the date of his birth. In Kavi-Lakṣaṇa's *Bhaktisindhu*, we find that Haridās was born in 1441 *samvat*, i.e. on the 8th *Bhādra*, in 1385 A.D. According to the Gosvāmī's of Vṛndāvana, his birth-date is 1569 *samvat*. According to traditional records Svāmī Haridās, was born in 1537 *samvat*. The archæologist Growse said in his *Mathurā Memoirs*: '* * on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of *Bhādon* in the *samvat* year 1441 gave birth of Haridās. * * therefore on all grounds we may firmly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors Ākbar and Jāhāṅgir'. Svāmī Lalitakiśorejī is of the opinion that Haridās was born on the 13th *śukla-pauṣa*, in 1569 : 'भादो सुकल अष्मी भू पर प्रगटे श्रीहरिदास'. Svāmī Pītāmvaradevajī also] said : 'भादो सुकल अष्टमीके दिन भये मनोरथ परण काम'. Nāgaridāsajī said,

क) श्रीवृन्दावन निजु कुञ्जमहलमें
सोभा सहज सुहाइ हो।
श्रीललिता[43] हरिदास नाम जु प्रगट
केलि दरशाह हो ।।
ख) भादु सुकल अष्टमी रसिकेन हिये
प्रेम भर लाइ हो ।।
ग) भादु सुकल अष्टमी शुभ दिन सु
वारिद वरषाये जु ।।
घ) प्रगटी श्रीहरिदासि स्वामिनी रसिक जननी सुखदाइ।
भादु सुकल अष्टमी अद्भुत कही न जाइ ।।

It is, therefore, found that all his disciples and followers admit that Svāmī Haridās was born in the *śukla-aṣṭamī*, in the month of *Bhādra* (August-September), in the rainy season, which also corresponds to the views of *Bhaktisindhu*, and Growse. Haridāsa's date of birth and birth-place have also been discussed in Kiśorīdāsa's *Nijamata-siddhānta*, Sahachāri-śaraṇa's *Guru-praṇālikā*, and Brahmachāri Bihārī-śaraṇa's *Nimvārka-mādhurī*. It is said that Svāmī Haridās lived for 95 years, and he left his mortal coil in 1608 A.D. But some are of the opinion that he died in 1662, whereas Tānsen died in 1646 A.D. According to history, Emperor Ākbar died in 1605, and Tānsen died in March (24 *Rajjav*), in 1585, and Haridās in 1608. But if we accept the view of Kavi-Lakṣmaṇa's *Bhaktisindhu*, which has been admitted by Growse, then we find that Haridās was born in 1441 *samvat*, corresponding to 1569 A.D., and died in 1569+95=1664 A.D.[44] Again in the preface of the *Siddhānta-ratnākara*, edited by Viśveśvara-śaraṇa (1956), Govinda Śarmā said :

'स्वामीजी का निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश व्यासजी के लीलाप्रवेश के पूर्व ही होगया था। इसके अनेक प्रमाण हैं। अतः स्वामीजीके निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश का सम्बत् १६३२ मानना ही ठीक होगा, १६६४ नहीं। विशेषकर इस लिए कि स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ आया

43. Svāmī Haridās was recognized by his followers as the divine incarnation of Lalitā-Sakhī.

44. This fact has also been discussed before.

है। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ वि० के आसपास हुआ है। * * अतः स्वामी हरिदासजी का जन्म सम्वत् १५३७ में मानने के लिए उपयुक्त कारण पर्याप्त है'।

In the *Vyāsa-vāṇi*, we also find the mention of the following lines,

कृष्णदास हरिदास उपास्यौ वृन्दाबन को चन्द।
जिन बिनु जीवत मृतक भए हम सह्यौ विपति को फन्द।
तिन विनु उरकौ सूल मिटै क्यों जिये व्यास अति मन्द॥

From this verse we know that Kṛṣṇadās (Svāmī) was contemporary to Svāmī Haridās. Svāmī Haridās took him as his *Guru*. Some are of the opinion that Haridāsa's music-teacher was one Kṛṣṇadatta. But this view is untenable. However, it is true that many Vaiṣṇava savants of that time (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.) used to culture the classical type of music at Vṛndāvana. Though Gwālior school of *prabandha-dhruvapada* type of songs was predominant at that time all over India, yet Vṛndāvana created a new school and inspiration to some extent. Narmadeśvara Chaturvedī said in his article on *Swāmi Haridās* (vide *Saṅgīta*, Journal, Sept. 1958) that Hita Harivaṁśa, Harirāma-Vyāsa, Rūpa-Gosvāmi, Prabodhānanda-Sarasvatī, and Gopāl-bhatta or Gosvāmī Raghunāthdās were contemporary to Svāmī Haridās. There is a great controversy as to who was the music-teacher of Ṭhākur Narottamadās. Some are of the opinion that he first took lesson in classical music from Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, and then from Advaitadāsa-Gosvāmī, the students of Svarūpa-Dāmodara. Unfortunately there is no genuine historical proof in support of this view. But the fact is that Narottama learned classical music and especially *dhrupada* (diminutive from '*dhruvapada*') which was traditionally handed down from Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Svāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Svāmī Haridās, Miāṅ Tānsen, and their contemporaries. But by this it does not mean that the *prabandha* type of *dhruvapada* classical *gītis* were not current and cultured before Bāiju-bāorā and others, of the fifteenth-seventeenth century A.D. Because we find the definitions and description of different kinds of *nibaddha prabandha* type of

gītis, during the times of Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.), Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.), and others.

In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find the sixty-four classical dramatic songs (*nāṭyagītis*), called *dhruvā* ('चतुःषष्ठि ध्रुवाणां') which were composed of different letters(समवृत्ताक्षरकृता अतोऽन्या विषमाः स्मृताः), music-parts (*dhātus*), *aṅgas* like *svara*, *viruda*, *pāṭa*, etc. They were *nibaddha* type of *prabandha gītis*, and were presented in accordance with suitable place, time and circumstances ('देशं कालमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्या ध्रुवा बुधैः' NS. 32.352). The *prabandha* type of dramatic songs, *dhruvās*, *jātis*, *brahmagītis*, *kapālagītis*, *māgadhī*, etc. were probably the precursors or forerunners of the latter *prabandha-gītis*. But *dhruvā* is quite different from *dhruva-prabandha*.

Mataṅga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) dealt with the *prabandha* type of formalized (*śuddhikṛta*) regional (*deśī*) *gītis*, in the sixth chapter (*prabandhādhyāya*) of his *Bṛhaddeśī* (देशीकारप्रबन्धोऽयं), though he mystifies the origin of the *prabandhas* with the name of the Lord Śiva ('हरवक्त्राभिनिर्गताः'). He defined and at the same time described various kinds of the *prabandhas* like *dhruva*, *ḍheṅkī*, *elā*, *daṇḍaka*, *dvipadī*, *chaturaṅga*, *śarabhalīla*, etc. He said,

स्वरपाटैर्निबद्धं च भवेत् यत्र पदाष्टकम् ।
मतः शरभलीलोऽसौ रागतालाष्ठकान्वितः ॥४१

or

स्वरैः पदैश्च पाटैश्च तेन्तकैश्च[45] समन्वितः ।
गीयते तालयुक्तो यः स वर्णसरकः स्मृतः ॥५०७

But the *Bṛhaddeśī*, that has been published from Trivandrum (1928), is incomplete, as we find that Mataṅga said : 'इदानीं कथयिष्यामि वाद्यस्य निर्णयो यथा', but the book ends abruptly with the *prabandha* chapter (' * * प्रबन्धाध्यायः षष्ठः'). Mataṅga described the *prabandha*, *dhruva*, and not *dhruvā* (*nāṭyagīti*).

45. The correct reading तेनकैश्च ।

Pārśvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.) also dealt with the *prabandha-gītis* in the fourth chapter of his *Sangīta-samaya-sāra* including the *dhruva-prabandha*. He described three main classes of *prabandhas, sūḍa, āli* and *viprakīrṇa*. He further mentioned the *dhruva-prabandha*, together with its varieties, *maṭṭha* (*maṇṭha*), *pratimaṭṭha* (*pratimaṇṭha*), *lambaka*, *rāsaka*, *ekatāli*, etc. Śārangadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) described elaborately the *prabandha* type of *gītis* in the fourth chapter of his *Sangīta-Ratnākara*. Besides, he divided the *prabandhas* into three main heads, *sūḍa*, *āli-saṁsraya*, and *viprakīrṇa* (vide IV. 22-23), following the method of Pārśvadeva. He further divided the *sūḍa* type of the *prabandhas* into two, *śuddha* and *chāyālaga* or *sālaga*. The *chāyālaga* and *sālaga* are one and the same ('सालग-छायालगौ-पर्यायौ'). Śārangadeva said that the pure type of *dhruva-prabandhas* are of sixteen kinds ('चतुर्दश-गीतानि एतावच्छुद्धम्'), and they are : *jayanta, śekhara, utsāha, madhura, nirmala, kuntala, kāmala, chāra, nanḍana, chandraśekhara, kāmoda, vijaya, kandarpa, jayamangala, tilaka* and *lalita*. Kallināth said in his commentary that the seven kinds of the *sālaga-sūḍa prabandhas* like *dhruva, manṭha, pratimanṭha, nissākhe, aḍḍtāla* and *akatāli* are composed of three music-parts (*dhātus*) like *udgrāha, antarā*, and *ābhoga, melāpaka* being left out ('एते ध्रुवादयः सप्तापि मेलापकाभावात्त्रिधातवः'), but the *prabandhas, manṭha*, etc. are possessed of six limbs ('मण्ठादयस्तु षडपि').

Śārangadeva said that the *dhruva* and other six *prabandhas* are known as *sālaga-sūḍa* ('वक्ष्यमाणं ध्रुवमारभ्य वक्ष्यमाणैकतालीपर्यन्तं सप्तभिः गीतैः सालगसूडोऽभिमतः'), though they were previously called as *śuddha-sūḍa* ('शुद्धसूडः प्राक्सालगस्त्वधुनोच्यते'—SR. IV. 313), and this term, *śuddha-sūḍa* was used by Pārśvadeva in his *Sangīta-samaya-sāra* ('इति शुद्धसूडाः').

Regarding the characteristics of the composition of the *dhruva prabandha*, Śārangadeva said,

एक धातु द्विखण्डं च खण्डमुच्चतरं परम् ।
स्तुत्यनामाङ्कितश्चासौ कश्चिदुच्चैकखण्डकः ॥
उद्ग्राहस्यान्यखण्डे च न्यासः सध्रुवको भवेत् ॥

—SR. IV. 316-17.

That is, the two parts or pieces (of the *dhruva prabandha*) are sung as *udgrāha* (or *udgrāhaka*), the one part or piece is sung as *ābhoga*, and the last part of it is in the high pitch. Again the two parts of *udgrāha*, together with one part of *antarā* (=three parts) are repeated twice. The name of the composer is computed in the *ābhogadhātu*, and the song ends (*nyāsa*) in the first part of *udgrāha*. According to some, one of the parts of *ābhoga* is sung in the high pitch.[46] Kallināth said that the *dhruva prabandhas* are included in the category (*aṅga*) of the *tārāvalī jatī* ('एते ध्रुवादयस्तालादिनियमान्नियुक्ताः पदताल-बद्धत्वाद्याङ्गास्तारावलीजातिमन्तः'). The sixteen varieties of the *dhruva prabandha* are composed of different letters (*kalās*) and rhythms (*tālas*).

It is, therefore, most probable that the particular *sālaga-sūḍa* or *sālaga-dhruva-prabandha* is the precursor or forerunner of the classical *dhruvapadas* (or *dhrupada*) of the mediæval and modern times. Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Rājā Mān of Gwālior, Svāmī Kṛṣṇadās, the disciple of Rāi Rāmānanda (of Orissa), Svāmī Haridās, Miāṅ Tānsen, and others undoubtedly cultured the *dhruvapada* that traditionally came down from the pre-Mataṅga period.

However, Ṭhākur Narottama left Vṛndāvana in 1581-1582 A.D., accompanied by Śyāmānanda and Śrīnivāsa. At that time Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī left his moral coil (in 1582 A.D.). Narottamadās returned to Khetari in the district of Rājsāhī, and introduced the developed form of *rasa* and *līlā kīrtana*. He devised it on the pattern of the *prabandha-dhruva-*

46. Siṁhabhūpāla said : 'तेषु ध्रुवं लक्ष्यति * *। पूर्वं सदृशगेय-खण्डद्वययुक्त उदग्राहः कर्तव्यः। ततोऽनन्तरं किञ्चिदुच्चं खण्डमन्तराख्यं कर्तव्यम्; एतत त्रयमपि द्विरभ्यस्तं द्विर्गेयम्। ततोऽनन्तरं खण्डद्वययुक्त आभोगः, तस्य प्रथमं खण्डद्वय-मेकधातु सदृशगेयखण्डद्वययुक्तम्, द्वितीयखण्डं ततोऽप्युच्चं गातव्यम्। असावाभोगस्तुत्यस्य नायकस्य नाम्ना युक्तः कार्यः। कश्चित केषाञ्चिन्मतेऽयमुच्चैकखण्ड गातव्यः। उदग्राहस्य आद्यखण्डे च समाप्तिः स ध्रुव इति ज्ञेयः'।

pada. It was in the slow tempo (*vilamvita-laya*), and was very majestic and colourful. Gaurāṅgadās and Devīdās accompanied Narottama with *mṛdaṅga* (*khola*), and Śrīdās and Gokuladās with music. It is said that all of them were aged, and took training from Svarūpa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Chaitanya. Some are of the opinion that they were trained under the guidance of Rāghunāthdās Gosvāmī. The new and novel type of *rasa* or *līlā-kīrtana*, introduced by Narottamadās, was more systematic and serene. It was mainly based on the divine emotional sentiment and mood (*rasa* and *bhāva*), and so it was known as '*rasa-kīrtana*', and as its composition or theme was based on the divine sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, it was also called '*līlā-kīrtana*'.

Ṭhākur Narottamadās was born at Khetari. Khetari was situated in the Gaḍerhāt sub-division, in the district of Rājsāhī. His father's name was Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt, and his mother was Nārāyaṇī-devī. It is said that Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt was the zemindar of Gopālapur. Narottama took initiation from Lokanāth-Gosvāmī, and became a devout Vaiṣṇava. When he was young, he left his hearth and home, and went to Vṛndāvana for the critical study of the Vaiṣṇava literature. After coming back from Vṛndāvana, he began to live at Khetari, at the request of his uncle's son, Santoṣa-dutt. At that time he arranged a grand festival (*mahotsava*) i.e. conference for the Vaiṣṇavas, and thousands of the Vaiṣṇava savants assembled at Khetari, from different parts of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā. The *mahotsava* of Khetari was a memorable one. Śrīmatī Jānhavīdevī, the wife of Śrī Nityānanda, presided over that *mahotsava*. Narottama introduced there his newly devised *kīrtana*, together with *gourachandrikā* i.e. songs in praise of the glory and greatness of Śrī Chaitanya who was considered, by the Vaiṣṇavas of that time, as the divine incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together in one. Especially the Vaiṣṇava savants like Svarūpa-Gosvāmī, Kṛṣṇadās-Kavirāja, Govindadās and others developed this idea of '*antaḥ-kṛṣṇa*' (internally Śrī Kṛṣṇa) and '*vahirgaura*' (externally Gaura, i.e. Chaitanya), upon the lines

'*kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ tviṣā-kṛṣṇaṃ*',[47] etc. of the *Bhāgavata* (11.5.29). Kavirāja-Gosvāmī said in the *Charitāmṛta*,

तवे हासि तारे प्रभु देखाल स्वरूप ।
रसराज महाभाव दुइ एक रूप ।।[48]

Rūpa-Gosvāmī said in the *Kaḍchā* : '*Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛti * * rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-suvalitaṃ naumi kṛṣṇa-rūpaṃ*'[49]. However, the *rasa* or *līlā-kīrtana* of Narottamadās had a style (*gāyana-śaili*) of its own, and it was known as '*garāṇahāti*' or '*gaḍerahāti*', having originated in the Gaḍerhāt *parganā*. But this style, being difficult and slow in tempo, was not properly appreciated by the general mass. So different styles gradually evolved, to suit the taste and temperament of the people, and they were *manoharasāhi*, *rāṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, *mandāriṇi* and *jhāḍa-khaṇḍi*. All these styles or schools, with different forms and compositions, were named likewise after the places of their origin. As for example, the style or school of *manoharasāhi* was so named as it evolved from the Manoharasāhi *parganā*, the style or school, *rāṇīhāti* or *reṇeti* had its origin in the Rāṇīhāti *parganā*, that of *mandāriṇi* originated in the Sarkāra-Mandāraṇa, and that of *jhāḍakhaṇḍī* had its origin in the district of Midnāpore. Some are of the opinion that the schools, *garāṇahāti* or *gaḍerahāti*, *rāṇīhāti* or *reṇeti*, and *mandāriṇi* may be compared to those of *khāṇḍāravāṇī*, *dāgaravāṇī*, *laharavaṇī* and *gvahāravāṇī* of the *dhruvapada gīti*, which had their origins from different places, during the time of the Emperor Ākbar. Some others compared those styles or schools of *kīrtana* with the four types of classical music, *dhruvapada*, *kheyāl*, *ṭhuṁri*, and *tappā*. All these were merely different conceptions from different angles of vision. Otherwise, all these different styles or schools (*gharāṇās*) were independent from one another. The

47. कृष्णवर्णं त्विषाकृष्णं साङ्गोपाङ्गास्त्र-पार्षदम् ।
यज्ञैः संकीर्तन-प्रायैर्यजन्ति हि सुमेधसः ।।
48. Vide चैतन्यचरितामृत, मध्यलीला ८ ।
49. राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृति * * राधाभाव-द्युतिसुवलितम् नौमि कृष्णरूपम ।

different styles of *padāvalī-kīrtana* were divised by different Kīrtanīyās of talent, in different times. As for example, Ṭhākur Narottama introduced the *garāṇahāti* or *gaḍerahāti* style, Vipradāsa Ghoṣ, the *manoharasāhi*, Ṭhākur Gokulānanda, the *raṇīhāti* or *reṇeti*, and Veṇidāsa, the *mandāriṇī* respectively. The style or school of *jhāḍakhaṇḍī* was introduced by Kavīndra Gokula. This style is now out of practice, and the special features of those four schools are also not easily recognizable at present, for want of their proper knowledge and culture and application. It is said that those styles of *kīrtana* were presented with different time-units (*tālas*). As for example, 108 *tālas* were used in the *kīrtana* of the *garāṇahāti* style, 25 in *manoharasāhī*, 26 in *raṇihāti* or *reṇeti*, and 9 in *mandāriṇī*. The Maṇipurī style of *kīrtana* of Āssām owes its debt to Ṭhākur Narottama, as Narottama went to different places of Āssām, to propagate his new style of *kīrtana*, together with the Vaiṣṇava religion. After Ṭhākur Narottama, his worthy disciple Gaṅgā Nārāyaṇa Chakravurty also made similar tour round Āssām and Maṇipur. The *kīrtana* of Maṇipur is presented with the dance-dramas, having divine plots with the sportive plays of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

It has already been said that *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is the *nibaddha-prabandha* type of classical music, as it consists of different music-parts (*dhātus*) and six limbs (*saḍaṅgas*), etc. In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that while he mentions about the *gīti* '*saṁkīrtana*', he said that it is a type of music, which should be presented with metre, rhythm, etc. He described,

> Yastveṣāṃ sāttvike bhāvaḥ karma saṁkīrtanaṃ cha yat /
> Tat-kāryaṃ gāna-yoge tu pramāṇaṃ vidhi-saṁśrayam //
>
> * * * *
>
> Chandaḥ-pramāṇa-saṃyuktaṃ divyānāṃ gāna-miṣyate /
> Stutyāśrayeṇa tat-kāryaṃ karma-saṁkīrtanādapi //[50]

50. यस्त्वेषां सात्त्विके भावः कर्म सङ्कीर्तनं च यत ।
तत्कार्यं गानयोगे तु प्रमाणं विधिसंश्रयम ॥
* * * *

Therefore it is evident that the auspicious (*divya*) *gīti*, *dhruvā*, known as *saṁkīrtana*, was prevalent also in the first-second century A.D. in the form of *stuti-gāna*. The *dhruvās* were sacred like the post-Vedic *brahmagītis* or *aṅga-gītis* like *ṛk*, *gāthā*, *pāṇikā*, etc. : '*jayāśīrvāda-yuktāni kāryā-nyetāni daivate, ṛg-gāthā-pāṇikā hyeṣāṃ voddhvyāstu pramāṇataḥ*'.[51] During the time of Muni Bharata (second century A.D.), when the *nibaddha-prabandha* type of *dhruvās* (dramatic or stage-songs) were sung with *jātirāgas*, different metres (*chandas*), rhythms (*tālas*), and tempi (*layas*) for sacred purpose, they were known as *saṁkīrtana* or *kīrtana*. This sacred type of music was probably revived with some new form and theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva during the awakening of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavism, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari, one of the great Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava savants and musicologists, said in the *Bhaktiratnākara* :

केह कहे निवद्ध-गीतेर संज्ञात्रय ।
प्रवन्ध, वस्तु, रूपक ए' प्रसिद्ध हय ।।
धातु-चतुष्टय आर षडङ्ग इहाय ।
हइले प्रकृष्ट-बद्ध प्रवन्ध कहय ।।

That is, a *prabandha*-type of song is known by its four music-parts (*dhātus*) and six limbs (*aṅgas*), whereas a *vastu*-type of song consists of three music-parts and five limbs, and *rūpaka*-type is possessed of two music-parts and two limbs. Ghana-śyāma-Narahari said regarding the *dhātu*,

> Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥ sa chaturdhā prakīrtitaḥ /
> Udgrāhaka-melāpakaḥ-dhruvābhoga iti kramāt //[52]

छन्दः प्रमाणसंयुक्तं दिव्यानां गानमिष्यते ।
स्तुत्याश्रयेण तत् कार्यं कर्मसंकीर्तनादपि ।।

—नाट्यशास्त्र

51. जयाशीर्वादयुक्तानि कार्यान्येतानि दैवते ।
ऋग्गाथापाणिका ह्येषां वोद्धव्यास्तु प्रमाणतः ।।

—नाट्यशास्त्र

52. प्रवन्धावयवो धातुः स चतुर्धा प्रकीर्तितः ।
उदग्राहक-मेलापकः ध्रुवाभोग इति क्रमात ।।

That is, a *dhātu* is a part of a song, and it is of four kinds, *udgrāhaka*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva*, and *ābhoga*. Narahari said that the Kirtanīyās (demonstrators of the *kīrtana*) strictly observe the rules, as laid down by the treatises like *Gīta-prakāśa*, *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*, *Saṅgīta-śiromaṇi*, *Saṅgīta-ratnamālā*, *Vāchaspati*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, etc. No one did venture to violate the *śāstric* rules and injunctions. The classical melodies (*rāgas*) and rhythms (*tālas*) were used in *kīrtana*, as they were strictly observed in *saṁkīrtana* in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). They are strictly observed also in the present system of Vaiṣṇava *padāvalī-kīrtana*.

Naraharidās further said, regarding the *prabandha* type of song,

प्रबन्धेर धातु पञ्च[53] शास्त्रे ए निर्धार ।
षड़ङ्ग प्रबन्धगीत सर्वत्र प्रचार ।।
स्वर विरुद पद तेनक पाट ताल ।
एइ छय अङ्गे गीत परम रसाल ।।
स्वर-सरिगमपधादिक निरूपय ।
गुण-नामयुक्त मते विरुद कहय ।।
पद-शब्द-वाचक प्रकार बहु इथे ।
तेता तेनादिक शब्द मङ्गल निमित्ते ।।
पाट वाद्योद्भवाक्षर धाधा धिलंगादि ।
ताल चच्चतपुट यत्यादिक यथाविधि ।।
ए' षड़ंग प्राचीन आचार्य निरुपय ।
वाक्य स्वर ताल तेना चारि केह कय ।।

The six limbs of the *prabandha* type of a song are *svara* or notes taken at their proper pitch, *viruda* or panegyric, *pada* or name of its object, *tenaka* or cadence of notes as a symbolic standard, *pāta* or the continuous imitation of sound, proceeding from percussion instruments and *tāla* or rhythm, expressed by beat. *Tālas* are *chacchatputa*, *yat*, etc. Some musicologists are of the opinion that a *prabandha* is possessed of four limbs (*aṅgas*),

53. Narahari said about five limbs (*pañcha-dhātu*). Again he said somewhere about four *dhātus* (*dhātu-chatuṣṭayam*).

words, notes, rhythm, and cadence of notes. Śāraṅgadeva also said : '*prabandho'ṅgāni ṣat, tasya svarasya virudaṃ, padam, tenakaḥ pāta-tālau*'.[54] From Naraharidās, we come to know that *padāvalī-kīrtana* consists of six limbs or *aṅgas* like *svara, viruda*. etc., as has been described before.

Again *padāvalī-kīrtana* was possessed of five *jātis*, composed of different limbs. Regarding these, Narahari mentioned in the *Bhaktiratnākara* :

प्रवन्धे जाति पञ्च—मेदिनी नन्दिनी ।
दीपनी पावनी तारावली कहे मुनि ॥
षड़ंग मेदिनी नाम पञ्चांग नन्दिनी ।
चारि अंग दिपनी ए' त्रयांग पावनी ॥
अंगद्वय तारावली गीतविज्ञ कहे ।
इत्थे जान एकांग प्रवन्ध सिद्ध नहे ॥

Śāraṅgadeva also said regarding the *jātis* of classical songs,

मेदिन्यथानन्दिनी स्याद्दीपनी भावनी तथा ।
तारावलीति पञ्च स्युः प्रवन्धानां तु जातयः ॥

Therefore, *kīrtana* belongs to *medinī*-type, when it is composed of five limbs (*aṅgas*). It is recognized as *dīpanī*, when it consists of four limbs ; it is *pāvanī*, when possessed of three limbs ; it is called *tārāvalī*, when possessed of two limbs ; and when *kīrtana* is composed of only one limb, it is recognized as the *prabandha*. In Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, *pāvanī* is known as *bhāvanī*.

The *padāvalī-kīrtana* is included in the category of *tārāvalī* and *sama-dhruvā* type of the *prabandha gīti*, as distinct from *pañchālī* or *pāñchālikā*, which is recognized as *viṣama-dhruvā* type of the *prabandha*. Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Mukherjee said in his *Padāvalī-parichaya* that one of the greatest exponent of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, late Avadhūta Bandopādhyāya was of the opinion that *kīrtana* of Bengal was included in the *tārāvalī* and *samadhruvā* type of song. The *pāñchālī* type of songs are the

54. प्रवन्धोऽंगानि षट्, तस्य स्वरस्य विरुदं पदम, तेनकः पाटतालौ ।
—संगीत-रत्नाकर, ४र्थ, प्रवन्धाध्यायः ।

mangala-gānas like *kṛṣṇamangalà*, *śivamangala*, *chaṇḍīmangala*, *mansāmangala*, etc. The *mangalagītis* of Bengal are also known as the *nibaddha* type of classical music. Śārangadeva said in the *Sangīta-Ratnākara* :

Vadanaṃ chaccharī charyā paddhaḍī rāhaḍī tathā /
Vīraśrī-mangalāchāri dhavalo mangalastathā //[55]

That is, *chacchari* or *chañchāra*, *charyā*, *māngala*, etc. were sometimes very favourite songs of Bengal. They were known as *niryukta* type of songs, possessed of different metres, melodies, rhythms, and tempi, whereas the *aniryukta* ones were like the *ālāpa* or *ālapti*, possessed of only melody (*rāga*), and tempo (*laya*). The *kīrtana*, being the *tārāvalī* and *samadhruvā* type of song, can be known as similar to the *charyā*, to some extent. The only difference between the *charyā* and the *kīrtana* lies in the fact that the former had some repititions of one or two stanzas, while the latter was sung, and are sung even these days, with the music-part (*dhātu*), *dhruva*, both by the main singer (*mūla-gāyena*) and his party, in unison. In this respect, the method of singing the *mangala-gāna* seems different from the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, in some respects.

It has already been said that *padāvali-kīrtana* is purely emotional (*bhāvātmakaṃ*) in its nature, and for this reason it is known as '*rasa-kīrtana*'. In truth, emotional sentiments and moods (*rasa* and *bhāva*) are the life-force (*prāṇa*) of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. It stirs the emotional depth of the musicians as well as of the listeners. The mystic Vaiṣṇava composers (*padakartās*) have used sixty-four æsthetic sentiments (*rasas*), dividing them into two main groups, *vipralambha* and *sambhoga*. Rūpa-Gosvāmī, Kavi-karṇapura, and Pitāmvaradās have said in their *Ujjvalanilamaṇi* and *Bhakti-rasāyaṇa*, *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha*, and *Rasamañjarī* that *vipralambha* and *sambhoga* are

55. वदनं चच्चरी चर्या पद्धडी राहडी तथा ।
वीरश्रीमंगलाचारी धवलो मंगलास्तथा ॥

Pārśvadeva discussed these *prabandhas* in his *Sangīta-samayasāra*, before Śārangadeva.

the two modifications of the basic sentiment, *śṛṅgāra* or divine primal creative urge. The *vipralambha* is again divided into four, *pūrvarāga*, *māna*, *premavichittya*, and *pravāsa*. The *sambhoga* is an enjoyment of the pure union of the lover and the beloved woman. It is also divided into four types, enjoyment in a short period (*saṁkṣipta-sambhoga*), mixed enjoyment (*saṁkīrṇa-sambhoga*), accomplished enjoyment (*saṁpanna-sambhoga*), and ripe enjoyment (*samṛddhi-sambhoga*). The four emotive feelings and their enjoyments are the manifestations of eight kinds of æsthetic sentiments, as described by Muni Bharata, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata said,

Śṛṅgāra-hāsya-karuṇa-raudra-veera-bhayānakāḥ /
Vībhatsādbhuta-saṁjñau chetyaṣṭau nātyo rasāḥ smṛtāḥ //[56]

Besides *nātya*, Bharata said that emotional sentiments are applicable ty *dhruvā* and *jātirāga gānas* : '*dhruvā-vidhāne kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ, rasaṃ kāryamavasthāṃ cha* * *' (*NS*. 29.4). These *śāstric* rules are also applied to the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. It adopts eight main æsthetic sentiments, along with their sub-sentiments, resulting in sixty-four (8×8=64) ones. As for example,

(क) ।। अभिसारिक ।। (१) ज्योतस्नाभिसारिका, (२) तामसाभिसारिका, (३) वर्षाभिसारिका, (४) दिवाभिसारिका, (५) कुज्भटिकाभिसारिका, (६) तीर्थयात्राभिसारिका, (७) उन्मत्ताभिसारिका, (८) असमञ्जसाभिसारिका ।

(ख) ।। वासवसज्जा ।। (१) मोहिनी, (२) जाग्रतिका, (३) रोदिता, (४) मध्योक्तिका, (५) सुप्तिका, (६) चकिता, (७) सुरसा, (८) उद्देशा ।

(ग) ।। उतकण्ठिता ।। (१) दुर्मति, (२) विकला, (३) स्तब्धा, (४) अचेतना, (५) सुखोतकण्ठिता, (६) मुगधा, (७) मुखरा, (८) निर्बन्धा ।

(घ) ।। विप्रलब्धा ।। (१) विकला, (२) प्रेममत्ता, (३) क्लेशा, (४) विनीता, (५) निर्दया, (६) प्रखरा, (७) दूत्यादरा, (८) भीता ।

(ङ) ।। खण्डिता ।। (१) निन्दा, (२) क्रोधा, (३) भयानका, (४) प्रगल्भा, (५) मध्या, (६) मुगधा, (७) कम्पिता, (८) सन्तप्ता ।

56. शृंगार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः ।
वीभतसादभूतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्यो रसाः स्मृताः ।।
नाट्यशास्त्र ६।१५

(च) ॥ कलहान्तरिता ॥ (१) आग्रहा, (२) मुग्धा, (३) धीरा, (४) अधीरा, (५) कुपिता, (६) समा, (७) मृदुला, (८) विधुरा।

(छ) ॥ प्रोषितभर्त्तृका ॥ (१) भावि, (२) भवन, (३) भूता, (४) दशदशा, (५) दूत-संवाद, (६) विलाप, (७) सख्याक्तिका, (८) भावोल्लसा।

(ज) ॥ स्वाधीनभर्त्तृका ॥ (१) कोपंना, (२) मानिनी, (३) मुग्धा, (४) मध्या, (५) समुक्तिका, (६) सोल्लासा, (७) अनुकूला, (८) अभिषिक्ता।[57]

Again, five parts of the sub-limbs (*upāṅgas*) are used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and they are : (1) *kathā, dohā, āṅkhara, tuka* and *chūta*. (1) The *kathā* denotes *lakṣya* (words or composition—*sāhitya*) and *lakṣaṇa* (theory). Besides, it signifies questions and answers (*ukti* and *pratyukti*), connecting link between one piece of song and another, and expansion of meaning of the composition or speech. (2) *Dohā* means stanzas (two consecutive lines of a song), *tripadī* (three lines of a composition), *chaupadī* (four lines) etc., and they are repeated by the

57. Śrī Rūpa-Gosvāmī said in his *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* about these 64 *rasas*, in connection with the *nāyikā-bheda* :

(क) यथाभिसारयते कान्तं स्वयं वाभिसरत्यपि।
सा ज्यौत्स्नी तामसी यानयोग्यवेषाभिसारिका॥

(ख) स्ववासकवशात् कान्ते समेष्यति निजं वपुः।
सज्जीकरोति गेहञ्च या सा वासकसज्जिका॥

(ग) अनागसि प्रियतमे चिरयत्युत्सुका तु या।
विरहोत्कण्ठिता भाववेदिभिः सा समीरिता॥

(घ) कृत्वा सङ्केतमप्राप्ते दैवाज्जीवितवल्लभे।
व्यथमानान्तरा प्रोक्ता विप्रलब्धा मनीषिभिः॥

(ङ) उल्लङ्घ्य समयं यस्याः प्रेयानन्योपभोगवान्।
भोगलक्ष्माङ्कितः प्रातरागच्छेत सा हि खण्डिता॥

(च) या सखीनां पुरः पादपतितं वल्लभं रुषा।
निरस्य पश्चात्तपति कलहान्तरिता हि सा॥

(छ) दूरदेशं गते कान्ते भवेत प्रोषितभर्त्तृका।

* * *

(ज) स्वायत्तासन्नदयिता भवेत स्वाधीनभर्त्तृका।
सलिलारण्यविक्रीडा-कुसुमावचयादिकृत॥

—श्रीश्रीउज्ज्वलनीलमणि (नायिकाभेदप्रकरणम्) ७१-९१

singers. (3) *Āṅkhara* is a unique contribution to the *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal. It seems similar to *tāna* of the Hindusthānī classical music, to some extent. *Āṅkhara* is an extempore composition. (4) *Tuka* is an ornamental part of a song, which is traditionally handed down from one community of singers to another. (5) *Chhuta* is a part of a stanza of the *kīrtana*, i.e. when a portion of a song is present, instead of the entire portion, it is known as *chhuta*. Besides them, *jhumurā* or *jhumrī* is also used as an *upāṅga* of the *kīrtana*. It is a rule or procedure to sing a song of union (*milana-gāna*) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, after finishing the entire composition. But, if in any case, it is not possible to complete the *gaurachandrikā* or the entire theme of the *kīrtana* (*pālā-gāna*), the singer shall represent *jhuṃrā* or *jhuṃrī* for the completion of the *kīrtana*.

Now, what do we mean by the *gaurachandrikā*? It does not mean the *padas* (*gānas*), composed in memory of Śrī Gaurāṅga, are known as the *gaurachandrikā*, but the *padas*, which arouses divine emotional sentiments (*rasas*) in the *pālā-gānas* of the *rasa-kīrtana*, are known as the *gaurachandrikā*. In the *gaurachandrikā*, Śrī Chaitanya is conceived as an embodiment of both Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Rādhā.[58] In the *Chaitanya-Chandrāmṛta*, we find this idea :

कच्चित कृष्णावेशाच्चटति बहुभङ्गीमभिनयन ।
कच्चिद राधाविष्टो हरिहरिहरीत्यार्तिरुदितः ॥

In the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, twelve mystic *tattvas* are used, and they are : (a) union of the divine couple (*yugala-rūpa*), (b) manifestation and enjoyment (*prakāśa* and *vilāsa*), (c) enjoyment of the emotional sentiment (*rasāsvādana*), (d) mutual adoration (*pārasparika bhajana*), (e) the Lord and the devotee (*Bhagavāna* and *Bhakta*), (f) ideal of the devotee (*sādhya-vastu*), (g) spiritual practice of the devotee (*sādhanā*), (h) *pūrva-rāga* and *anu-rāga*, (i) *abhisāra*, (j) *vāsakasajjā*, (k) divine union

58. Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī and other eminent Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava-Āchāryas as conceived this grand idea of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the golden-yellow lusture of Śrī Rādhā, and described Śrī Chaitanya as a Divine Incarnation of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

(*milana*) and the *tattva par-excellence*, and (1) Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, the intuitive perception of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the central theme of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. And it should be remembered that this intuitive or spiritual perception of the divine couple is the realization of the inseparable relation (*abheda-samvandha*) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both are mutually realizing the infinite potency of love and bliss, and this mutual relation of love is the secret of the whole drama, enacted in the eternal land of Vṛndāvana. This realization is the aim and ideal of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. The philosophical idea of the *kīrtana* also lies in it. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are here conceived as one. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, being the ultimate Being, is possessed of *svarūpa-śakti*, *jīva-śakti* or *tatastha-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*. The *svarūpa-śakti* is the consummation of the divine attributes of existence (*Sat*), consciousness (*Chit*), and bliss (*Ānanda*). The potency of these three attributes acts like three powers in the nature of God, which are known as *sandhinī* (the power of existence), *samvit* (the power of consciousness) and *hlādinī* (the power of bliss, which is of the nature of infinite love).[59] The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism aims at the divine intuition and feeling of this highest *tattva*. This theological and philosophical ideas of the *kīrtana* developed on the doctrinal foundation of the *Upaniṣad*, *Pañcharātra*, *Purāṇa*, *Śrīmatbhāgavata*, and Bengal Buddhism, and *Sahajiyā* cults.

The composition (*sāhitya* or *pada*) of the *kīrtana* is deeply concerned with name, age, quality, beauty, grace, sweetness and lusture, and character (*guṇa*, *vayasa*, *rūpa*, *lāvaṇya*, *saundarya*, *abhirūpatā*, *mādhurya*, *mārdava*, *nāma*, *charitra* and *anubhāva*), as they are the source of inspiration to the devotees. They intensify the love and devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The hero (*nāyaka*) of the theme of the *kīrtana* is imagined in four different ways, and they are *dhīra-lalita*, *dhīra-śānta*, *dhīroddhata*, and *dhirodātta*. Besides, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived here in different ways (*rūpabheda*).

It has already been said that eight *Nāyikās* with their eight

59. Vide Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta: *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta University, 1946), pp. 143-144.

emotional moods have been conceived in the *pada-kīrtana*, and those *Nāyikās* are :

1) *Abhisārikā—Nāyikā* who proceeds towards *saṁketa-kuñja* for meeting with the beloved.

2) *Bāsakasajjā—Nāyikā* who is engaged in decorating her body for going to the *Kuñja*.

3) *Utkaṇṭhitā—Nāyikā* who eagerly awaits for the arriving of her beloved.

4) *Vipralabdhā—Nāyikā* who has been cheated by her beloved.

5) *Khaṇḍita—Nāyikā* who is angry to see her beloved for lately arriving in the next morning.

6) *Kalahantaritā*—The support (*āśraya*) of *Khaṇḍitā* is *māna*, but *Nāyikā* is repented not getting her beloved.

7) *Proṣitabhatṛkā*—The deprived *Nāyikā*, and she is then *birohiṇi*.

8) *Svādhinabhatṛkā—Nāyikā* has found the *Nāyaka* near her, but yet there is a sign of depriving of union.

It should be noted that *vipralambha* and *sambhoga* i.e. pangs for separation from the *Nāyaka* and then meeting with Him gives the *Nāyikā* unbounded joy and delight—these two things or moods are essential for the *pada-kīrtana*.

Let us quote a *pada* of *abhisāra* by Rāy Śekhara, in *Vrajabuli* :

गगने अवघन मेह दारुण
सघने दामिनी चमकइ ।
कुलिश-पातन शवद झन झन
पवन खरतर वलगइ ।।
सजनि, आजु दुरदिन भेल ।
हामारि कान्त नितान्त आगुसरि
सङ्केत-कुञ्जरि गेल ।।

* * *

राय शेखर वचने अभिसर
किये से विपिनि विथार ।।

A *pada* of *māna* and *kalahāntaritā* by Govindadās :

आन्धल प्रेम   पहिल नहि जानलु
  सो बहुवल्लभ कान ।
आदर-साधे   बाद करि ता सञे
  अहनिशि जलत पराण
    * * *
गोविन्ददास   कहइ सति भामिनि
  कानुवा ऐछनु नेह ।।

Now, like divine hero (*Nāyaka*), divine heroine (*Nāyikā*) of *padāvalī-kīrtana* is conceived in two different ways. She (*Nāyikā*) is mainly conceived as *svakīyā* and *parakīyā.* These two are again divided into many phases, *mudghā*, *madhyā*, *pragalbhā*, *dhīrā*, *adhīrā*, *dhīrādhīrā*, *dhīrā-pragalbhā*, *adhirā-pragalbhā*, and *dhīrādhīrā-pragalbhā*. *Parakīyā* has been recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the greatest love towards *parama-Nāyaka*, Kṛṣṇa. Śrī Chaitanya himself maintained the *parakīyā-tattva*, whereas Śaṅkaradev of Āssām was *svakiyāvādī*. Some of the latter Vaiṣṇavas like Jīva-Gosvāmī, and others did not accept this doctrine, as they said that *svakīyā par excellence* is the greatest *tattva*. But after Jīva Gosvāmī, the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavas mostly established the doctrine of *parakīyā*, and this has afterwards been the central theme of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*.

Parakīyā is again divided into two, *kanyā* and *paroḍhā*. Dhanyā and other unmarried *Vṛja* maidens, who loved Śrī Kṛṣṇa, were *kanyā*, and the married women were known as *paroḍhā*. The *paroḍhā Gopīs* were again divided into three classes, *sādhanaparā*, *devī* and *nityapriyā*. The *sādhanaparā Gopīs* were divided into two, *yauthīkī* and *ayauthikī*. The *yauthikī Gopīs* were Rādhā, Chandrāvalī, Viśākhā, Lalitā, Śyāmā, Padmā, Tārā, Chitrā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā, Gopāli, Pālikā, and others. But Rādhā was the greatest *nāyikā* among all the *nityapriyā Gopīs*. Rādhā or Rādhikā is known as *Vṛndāvaneśvarī*. The female attendants (*sakhīs*) of Rādhā were divided into five classes, and they were *sakhī*, *nityasakhī*, *priyasakhī*, *prāṇasakhī*, and *parama-preṣṭhā-sakhī*. Kṛṣṇadās-Kavirāja des-

cribes the real significances of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs, in his *Chaitanya-charitāmṛta* (*madhyalīlā*, 8th canto) as,

राधार स्वरूप कृष्ण-प्रेमकल्पलता ।
सखीगण हय ताँर पल्लव पुष्प पाता ।।
कृष्णलीलामृते यदि लताके सिञ्चय ।
निज सेक हइते पल्लवाद्येर कोटि सुख हय ।

This is also the philosophical conceptions of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the Sakhīs that are adopted in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Kubjā is conceived as the *sādhāraṇī-nāyikā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The central attention of all the *nāyikās* and *sakhīs* was concentrated in bringing the complete union (*milana*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The love between the divine hero (*Nāyaka*) and divine heroine (*Nāyikā*) manifests in different ways. Above all, the heroine, Rādhā is conceived as the greatest manifestation or incarnation of divine love, beauty and divinity in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*. Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī described Rādhā as the highest manifestation of love and devotion, in his celebrated book, *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*. The conceptions of the female attendants (*sakhīs*) and messengers (*dūti*) of Rādhā are also unique and original in the *kīrtana*.

Many of the Vaiṣṇava savants like Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Kavi-Karṇapura, Rādhāmohan Ṭhākur, Ghanaśyāma-Naraharidās and others accepted the *padāvalī-kīrtana* as *śāstric* and classical one in their books, *Govindalīlāmṛta*, *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-champu*, *Padāmṛta-sindhu*, *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*, *Bhakti-ratnākara*, *Gītachandrodaya*, etc. Rādhāmohan Ṭhākur composed many contemplative compositions (*dhyānas*) of the *rāgas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, and he followed, in this matter, Rāṇā Kumbhā's *Saṅgītarāja*, and other ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. Ghanaśyāma-Narahari said in his *Bhaktiratnākara*, the authoritative book of the Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇavas :

अनिबद्ध निवद्ध गीतेर भेदद्वये ।
अनिबद्ध गीत गोकुलादि आलापये ।।
अनिवद्ध गीते वर्णन्यास स्वरालाप ।
आलापे गोकुल कण्ठध्वनि नाशे ताप ।

आलापे गमक मन्द्र मध्य तार स्वरे ।
से आलाप शुनिते केवा धैर्य धरे ॥

From this, it is evident that *ālāpa* was used in different tempi, before the presentation of the original theme of *padāvali-kīrtana*. It is said that *tumburā*, *rabāb*, *veeṇā*, and other stringed and musical instruments accompanied *kīrtana*. Jñānadās described some of them in his *abhisāra-pada* :

आवेशे सखीर अङ्गे अङ्ग हेलाइया ।
पद-आध चले आर पड़े मुरछिया ॥
रवाब खमक वीणा सुमिल करिया ।
वृन्दावने प्रवेशिल जय जय दिया ।

Though Jñānadās did not describe it in connection with *padāvalī-kīrtana*, yet the stanzas suggest the use of musical instruments in the *Vaiṣṇava-gītis*.

Some are of the opinion that the structures of the *rāgas*, used in *kīrtana*, seem to be pure and original than those of the modern modified ones. But, though their ancient forms are obsolete now, yet they can be recognized by those, described in Kavi-Lochana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* and Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa's *Hṛdaya-kautuka*, written in the sixteenth century A.D. As for example, *gurjarī* was previously recognized as the *rāga* of the *gaurī-saṁsthāna* or *gaurī-mela*, the tonal structure of which was similar to modern *bhairava* : 'sa *ri* ga ma pa *dha* ni'. *Vasanta* was known as the *rāga* of the *gaurī-saṁsthāna*, and its present tonal form is similar to that of *bhairava*. Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa described *vasanta* as 'sa ma, sa ni sa, ni *dha* pa ma ga *ri* sa'. In this way, we can easily find out the tonal forms of all the *rāgas*, used in *padāvali-kīrtana*. These recognized forms of the *rāgas* were also used in Kavi Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, and they have been discussed before. From the collections of the *padāvali-kīrtana*, we find the following *rāgas* which were mostly used in *kīrtana* : *kāmoda*, *śrī*, *dhānasī* or *dhānaśrī*, *gāndhāra* or *gāndhārī*, *toḍī*, *maṅgala*, *vasanta*, *sūhai*, *bhātiyāri*, *rāmakiri* or *rāmakelī*, *vibhāsa*, *mallāra*, *kalyāṇī*, *māyūra* or *māyurī*, *pāhiḍā* or *pāhāḍī*, *gaurī*, *pāṭamañjarī*, *gurjarī*, *tirothā-dhānaśrī*, *gauḍī*, *bhupālī*, *āhīri*, *vihāga*,

vihaṅgḍā, *kedāra*, *bhairava*, *bhairavī*, *śubhagā*, *vibhāsa-lalita*, etc. We also find in the *padāvalīs* the names of *yathārāga* or *tathārāga*, *karuṇā* or *karuṇa-rāga*, *kau-rāga*, which were mostly prevalent in Bengal. But, in fact, *karuṇā* or *karuṇa* is not a *rāga*, it is a kind of metre (*chhanda*), and it has been mentioned in Lochana's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* : '*yat padārdhe tu sa bhabet karuṇā-mālavā-bhidhaḥ*'.[60] The *rāga suhā* or *suhai* has been mentioned in Halāyudha-miśra's *Seka-śubhodayā*. The newly devised regional *rāga*, *tirotha* has been adopted from Tṛhut or Tīrhut. It is known by various names like *tirothā*, *tirotā*, *tirotiyā*, or *tṛhutiyā*. The *nepālī* has been adopted from Nepāl, and Nepāl was a centre of *Vrajabulī*, after the Sena Kings. The *rāga* '*śubhaga*' has been mentioned in Śubhaṅkara's *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, Narahari's *Saṅgītasāra-saṁgraha*, etc. The *māyūra* or *māyūrī* has been mentioned in the *Vṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*, *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, etc. Some are of the opinion that *yathā* or *tathā rāga* is the diminutive form of the ancient *jāti* or *jātirāga*. But this view is untenable, as the word '*yathā-rāga*' connotes the idea that the singers or musicologists have freedom to select any of the suitable *rāgas*.

The *tālas*, as used in *padāvalī-kīrtana* are numerous. More than two hundred *tālas* were used in *kīrtana*. The names of some of the tālas are : *yati*, *rūpaka*, *japa*, *vṛhatjapa*, *daśakuśi*, *chota-daśakuśī*, *vaḍa-daśkuśī*, *madhyama-daśakuśī*, *teota*, *jhampa* or *jhampā jayamaṅgala*, *duṭhukī*, *āḍā-duṭhukī*, *chota-duṭhukī*, *dāśa-peḍe* or *dānspeḍe*, *maṇṭhaka*, *prati-maṇṭhaka*, *kandarpa*, *ekatālī*, *vaḍa-ekatālī*, *pata*, *madhura*, *śekhara*, *nanandana*, *dhaḍā*, *aṣṭha*, *ādi*, *vijayānanda*, *sama*, *chandraśekhara*, *dhruva*, *lophā*, *nandana*, *utsāha*, etc. In every *tāla* there are *paraṇa*, *mātana*, etc.

It is said that 108 kinds of *tālas* were used in the *gaḍerhāti* school of *kīrtana*, and these have been mentioned in the *Śrī-Padāmṛta-mādhurī*, compiled by Late Navadvīp Chandra Vraja-vāsī and Rāi Bāhādur Khagendra Nāth Mitra. These 108 kinds of *tālas* are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. The 108 *tālas* are :

60. यत् पदार्धे तु स भवेत करुणा-मालवाभिधः ।
—रागतरङ्गिणी

1. Vaḍa-daśakuśī ; 2. Viṣama-daśakuśī ; 3. Madhyama-daśakuśī ; 4. Chota-daśakuśī ; 5. Kātā-daśakuśī ; 6. Virāma-ādā-daśakuśī ; 7. Vaḍa-samatāla ; 8. Madhyama-samatāla ; 9. Yota-samatāla ; 10. Kātā-samatāla ; 11. Chota-samatāla; 12. Mūrcchanā of samatāla ; 13. Pākachatā ; 14. Śruti ; 15. Pota ; 16. Dharaṇa ; 17. Āḍā-dharaṇa-tāla ; 18. Kātāpota-tāla ; 19. Karṇāta ; 20. Mālati ; 21. Chota-rūpaka ; 22. Madhyama-rūpaka ; 23. Vaḍa-rūpaka ; 24. Vaṣama-pañchatāla ; 25. Madhyama-pañchatāla ; 26. Pañchama-sowārī ; 27. Vaḍa-chutātāla ; 28. Viṣama-chutā ; 29. Āḍā-chutā ; 30. Chota-chutā ; 31. Vaḍa-teota ; 32. Madhyama-teota ; 33. Teorā ; 34. Tioti ; 35. Vaḍa-dharātāla (dhaḍā ?) ; 36. Madhyama-dharā-tāla ; 37. Kātātāla ; 38. Vaḍa-ekatāla ; 39. Madhyama-ekatāla ; 40. Chota-ekatāla ; 41. Kātā-ekatāla ; 42. Vaḍa-śaśīśe-khara ; 43. Madhyama-śaśīśekhara ; 44. Chota-śaśīśekhara ; 45. Vaḍa-dānspāhiḍā ; 46. Madhyama-dānspāhiḍā ; 47. Chota-dānspāhiḍā ; 48. Āḍā-dānspāhiḍā ; 49. Vṛhat-japatāla ; 50. Madhyama-japatāla ; 51. Chota-japatāla ; 52. Āḍā-japatāla ; 53. Gañjala-tāla ; 54. Parimāṇa-tāla ; 55. Yati-tāla ; 56. Vaḍa-jhāmptāla ; 57. Chota-jhāmptāla ; 58. Vaḍa-doṭhukī ; 59. Madhyama-doṭhukī ; 60. Chota-doṭhukī ; 61. Āḍā-doṭhukī ; 62. Vaḍa-veeravikrama ; 63. Chota-veeravikrama ; 64. Vaḍa-āḍatāla ; 65. Chota-āḍatāla ; 66. Vaḍa-kāvālī ; 67. Chota-kāvālī ; 68. Dhruvatāla ; 69. Nataśekhara-tāla ; 70. Nandana-tāla ; 71. Chañchuputa-tāla ; 72. Maṇṭhaka-tāla ; 73. Vaḍa-dhāmāli ; 74. Madhyama-dhāmāli ; 75. Chota-dhāmāli ; 76. Niskāraka (Nis-sāruka ?)-tāla ; 77. Chandraśekhara-tāla ; 78. Kandarpa-tāla ; 79. Pratichañchuputa-tāla ; 80. Champaka-tāla ; 81. Vadasi (Aṣta-tāla 32 chāpaḍa) ; 82. Triputi-tāla ; 83. Brahma-tāla ; 84. Rudra-tāla ; 85. Nata-nārāyaṇa-tāla ; 86. Vijayānanda-tāla ; 87. Thumri ; 88. Lophā ; 89. Gamakatāla ; 90. Gargatāla ; 91. Daśamakṣara-tāla ; 92. Gopālatāla (used in *Rāsa-nṛtta* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa) ; 93. Viṣama-saṅkata-tāla (used in *nṛtta* of Śrī Rādhā) ; 94. Nṛttatāla (of Lalitā) ; 95. Nṛttatāla (of Viśākhā) ; 96. Nṛtta-tāla (of Champakalatā) ; 97. Vāndha-vatāla (in the *nṛtta* of Tuṅgavidyā) ; 98. Jhamapaka-tāla (in the

nṛtta of Indurekhā) ; 99. Mandasmita-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Suchitrā) ; 100. Vāndi-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Raṅgadevī) ; 101. Chakka-tāla (in the *nṛtta* of Sudevī) ; 102. Vikata-tāla (in the dance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) ; 103. Nṛtta-tāla (of the Gopīs in the Rāsamaṇḍala) ; 104. Śaṅkaratāla (of Nātarāja-Mahādeva) ; 105. Lāsya-tāla (of Pārvatī) ; 106. Jhumura-tāla ; 107. Khemtā (of Kāhārvā) ; 108. Jhuj-jhuti-tāla.

Among them some of their time-units or *mātrās* may be mentioned as,

(1) *chhotadaśakośi* is of 7 *mātrās*, *madhyama-daśakośi* is of 7 × 2 = 14 *mātrās*, and *vaḍa-daśakośi* is of 7 × 2 × 2 = 28 *mātrās* ; (2) *Teoti* is of 7 *mātrās*, and (3) *Teota* is of 7 × 2 = 14 *mātrās* ; (4) *chhota-lophā* is of 6 *mātrās*, (5) *lophā* is of 6 *mātrās*, (6) *vaḍa-lophā* is of 6 × 2 = 12 *mātrās* ; (7) *doṭhuki* is of 14 *mātrās*, and (8) *chota-ḍoṭhuki* is of 14 *mātrās*, (9) *chota-dusapyāri* is of 4 *mātrās*, (10) *dāsapyāri* is of 4 × 2 = 8 *mātrās* ; (11) *ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās* ; (12) *Jhāmptāla* is of 10 *mātrās* ; (13) *dharā* or *dhaḍā* is of 16 *mātrās* ; (14) *chhota-rūpaka* is of 6 *mātrās* ; (15) *vaḍa-rūpaka* is of 6 × 2 = 12 *mātrās* ; (16) *chota-ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās*, and (17) *ekatāli* is of 14 *mātrās*.

In Śubhaṅkara's *Saṅgīta-dāmodara* 101 *tālas* have been mentioned : 'एकाधिक शते ताले षष्टिर्मुख्यताला इमे'। Śubhaṅkara said that 60 out of 101 *tālas* are prominent. Śāraṅgadeva described 120 *deśi-tālas* in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (6th chapter). Ghanaśyāma Narahari-dāsa followed *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, and said :

तालं चच्चत्पुट-चाचपुटादि-प्रधानम् ।
एकाधिक-शत-तालं सर्वत्र प्रमाणम् ।।

Now, let us illustrate some portion of a *pada-kīrtana*, from Śrī Haridāsa Kar's *Kirtana-svaralipi* (Vol. I). The author of the composition (*pada*) is Govindadās. The *tāla* has been used as *lophā*, consisting of 6 *mātrās* ($\overset{+}{o}$ $\dot{o}$ $\dot{o}$ / $\dot{o}$ $\dot{o}$ $\dot{o}$). The song, along with the notation, runs thus,

(सखी) चिकन काला गलाय माला
बाजन नुपुर पाय ।
(तार) चड़ार फुले भ्रमरा वुले
तेरछ नयने चाय ।।

कालिन्दी-कुले कि पेखनु सखी
छाड़िया नागर काण।
घर मो याइते नारिनु सखी
आकुल करिल प्राण॥ etc.

```
                +                              o          +
        II         o                        I
(गम )        { प  पधसन  धपध    |  पम  मग  र  |  र  र  ध  |
                     -
सखी          { चि  क०००  ००न    |  का  ला  ०  |  ग ला य   |

 o            +     o o        |     o
   o                           |     o             o  I
पधसन  धन  धप  I  प  धनस स     |   सन     धन     पधसन
  -     -                      |          -
मा०००  ००  ०ला ×  वा  ज०० न    |   न      पु०    र०००

 +          o
धप  ।  ।  |  ।  ।  ।  } I
पा० ०  ०  |  ०  ०  य

                +              o          +          o
I     o    }  o  o  ०००   |  o  o  I       o  o   |  o  ०००
     सा    }  स  र  र ग म  |  ग  र  ।   ध   स  र   |  स  र ग म
तार        }  चू ड़ा र ० ०   |  फु ले ०   भ   म  रा  |  नु ले ० ०

              +            o                    +
o o o I       o  o o o   |  o       o o  I   |
ग र स         स  स र स    |  नसम  ध  पधसन    |  धप । ।
                         |          -        |
o o o         ते  र ० छ    |  न०   य  ने०००    |  चा०० य

 o
      o      II
धना   सन   धप
गो०   ००   ००
```

\+ o +
II o I
प प पधसन | धपध पम मगर र ग म |
कालि न्दी ooo | o oo कु ले o कि पे ख |

o + o +
| I o o o o I
गमप म प} प धनस स | सन ध पधसन धप । । |
नु oo स खो छा बि oo या | ना ग र o oo का o o ण |

o
o I
धन सन धप
गो o oo oo

\+ o — o
I o o | o o o o o o I o o o | o o o o o I
ध स र | र ग प म ग र स स र | स र ग म गरस
थ र मो | या o o o इ ते ना रि नु | सखी o o o o o

—
o o o o | o — o
o o o II
स स र स | नसन ध पधसन | धप । । | धन सन थप
आ कु ल | क oo रि ल ooo | प्रा oo ण | गो o oo oo

—etc.

N.B.—*Niṣāda* and *madhyama* are sometimes used as flat (*komala*).

EVOLUTION OF ḌHAP-KĪRTANA

Sometimes it is said that *ḍhap-kīrtana* was designed and propagated by Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-kān, but that is not correct, as *ḍhap-kīrtana* was propagated by Rūpchānd Adhikāry, who was an inhabitant of Beldāṅgā, in Murśidābād. Rūpchānd was born in 1229 B.S. corresponding to 1722 A.D. approximately. He learnt and cultured *bāulgāna* and afterwards innovated the new type of *ḍhap-kīrtana* on the structures of

bāul, *pāñchālī*, and *pada-kīrtana*. After Rūpchānd, the name of Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-kān can be mentioned, because Madhu-kān really popularised *ḍhap-kīrtana* among the common as well as the cultured people of the then society. It is said that *ḍhap-kīrtana* gradually developed with the materials of *bāul-gāna* which were then prevalent in West Bengal before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya. So it will not be unwise to estimate *ḍhap-kīrtana* as an admixture of both classical and folk music.

Approximately in 1220 B.S. i.e. in 1813 A.D. Madhusūdan Kinnar was born in the village of Ulasī in the Jessore district, and died at the age of 55 in 1868, in Kāśimbāzār. He was not sufficiently educated, so he took up the life of the Natas who used to sing different devotional themes along with dances like the Wandering Bards of the Epic period. From the history of Bengal we know that the Natas like the Patuās used to earn money by singing different types of folk-songs along with folk-dances. Late Satīś Chandra Mitra mentioned in his *History of Jessore and Khulnā* that the Natas were known as 'Kinnar', and, therefore, 'Kinnar' was the title of Madhusūdan because of his profession in music with dance. Madhusūdan Kinnar was commonly known as Madhu-kān as has been said before ('Kān' being an abbreviation of the word 'Kinnar').

Though Madhusūdan was not educated, yet he was possessed of literary talent like the Kaviwālās of different villages of Bengal, who used to compose songs extempore, with different themes of Rāma-Sītā or Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā, and Late Satīś Chandra Mitra wrote that like Dāsarathi Rāy and Gobinda Adhikāry, Madhusūdan used to sing Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana with dance in different villages. His extempore compositions of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa themes with new tunes made him famous all over the West Bengal.

Late Satīś Bābu further wrote that as Madhusūdan Dutta, who lived by the side of the Kapotākṣī river, so Madhusūdan Kinnar, who lived on the bank of the Betrabatī river, used to

compose many new and novel tunes of *ḍhap-kīrtana* which were known as *pāñchālī* at that time. But it should be remembered that *kīrtana* and *pāñchālī* were different in their forms and renderings, though some elements of folk tunes were present in both of them. But it is a fact that *ḍhap-kīrtana* was commonly known to the people as *pāñchālī*, though *pāñchālī* can be recognised as the forerunner of *ḍhap-kīrtana*.

Madhusūdan's father's name was Ānanda Kinnar. Some say that his father's name was Tilakchandra Kinnar. The word 'Kinnar' probably evolved from the name of the Gandharva-type of the semi-divine people, called *Kinnar* who, like the Gandharvas, were very fond of music and dance, and Bharata mentioned it in his *Nātyaśāstra*. Madhusūdan learned the *deśī*-type of *ḍhap-kīrtana* from Rādhāmohan-Bāul. It is said that Rādhāmohan was a famous exponent of the *bāulgāna*. So it may be taken that Madhusūdan first learned from him the bāul, and then also propagated the new type of *deśī-ḍhap-kīrtana* with the admixture of the *bāul*. Some are of the opinion that when Madhusūdan lived sometimes in Dacca (in East Bengal and now in Bāṅglādeś), he learnt *kheyāl*-type of classical music from the Ustāds, Chhota Khāṅ and Baḍa Khāṅ, the then noted musicians of Dacca. But we do not find any element of classical *kheyāl* in the rendering of the type of *ḍhap-kīrtana*, devised by Madhu Kān.

Madhusūdan Kinnar composed different plots like different *pālās* or the *Mahājana-padāvalī-kīrtana*, and so we find different plots (*pālās*) of *brajalīlā* like *māthur*, *prabhās*, *kalaṅka-bhañjana*, *akrur-samvād*, etc. in his *ḍhap-kīrtana*. It is said that Madhusūdan was invited every year in the palace of Rāṇī Svarnamayee of Kāśimbāzār in the time of Rās-ceremony. While mentioning in an article the method of display of *ḍhap-kīrtana*, Pānchkari Dey wrote that the main singer (of *ḍhap-kīrtana*) used to play all the characters of the plots (*pālās*) alone, and so the singer used to relate or mention the whole plot of the theme before presenting it before the audience, and where short discourses in the form of questions and answers occurred,

the main singer used to relate them in the form of dialogue, along with different tunes and gestures and postures of the hands and heads. This type of suggestive and tuneful *ḍhap-kīrtana* was very much appreciated in Bengal in the 19th-20th century.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DEVELOPMENT OF RHYTHM AND TEMPO

There is an organized and harmonized system behind the gigantic phenomena of the universe, and everything in it, the sun, the moon, the stars, and satellites are unceasingly working through an ordered system, and with a motive behind. Everything phenomenal is ruled by the inevitable law of cause and sequence (*kārya-kāraṇa-samvandha*), and this law is again guided by a synthetic and universal law, which is known as the cosmic law or divine, Energy. The rhythm and tempo are the inherent categories of that cosmic energy or Nature, which is called by the philosophers of India, as *prakṛti*, *prajñā*, *kundalinī*, *kāmakalā*, *mahāmāyā*, or the Mother Kālī. Rhythm and tempo are but one and the same organized dynamic force, that animates and regulates the sportive play of Mahākālī, who creates, sustains, and destroys everything of the changing phenomena. Kaviguru Rabīndranāth defined rhythm in some different way, when he said : 'Rhythm is not merely in some measured blending of words, but in a significant adjustment of ideas, in a music of thought produced by a subtle principle of distribution, which is not primarily logical but evidential'. 'In perfect rhythm', he further stated, 'the art-form becomes like the stars which in their seeming stillness are never still, like a motionless flame that is nothing but movement. A great picture is always speaking, but news from a newspaper, even of some tragic happening, is still-born. Some news may be a mere commonplace in the obscurity of a journal ; but give it a proper rhythm and it will never cease to shine. That is art'.

A '*rhythm*' connotes the idea of an ordered and a measured motion (*gati*) that give an idea of a complete harmonious restriction or system of time, whereas 'tempo' connotes that of time-unit, in the sense of pace or duration of speed. But how the

conceptions of rhythm and tempo came into being? Some are of the opinion that in the primitive days men and women used to sing and dance irregularly, clapping their hands, moving their feets, and shaking their heads or limbs of the bodies. Their irregular movements of the hands, legs and heads or limbs of the bodies were gradually regulated and balanced with senses of restriction of pace and speed, and they at last gave rise to concrete ideas of rhythm and tempo. In Sanskrit, these are known as '*chhanda*' and '*laya*'. Both have their common origin and basic ground in space and time, which is known as the prime factor of creation i.e. *projection* of the world-appearance. Samuel Alexander called this ground space-time, and not space and time, and space-time is the matrix or substratum of the primal norm of the *projection*. It is said in the Ṛgveda that there was no vibration or movement in the beginning ('*tadejati tannaijati*' * *), and eternal calmness reigned supreme with unbroken silence. Gradually movement came into being in the form of rhythmic vibrations. The vibrations were organized and balanced, and the manifold creation or *projection* was designed in a systematic form which may be called the '*rhythm*'. The word '*tapaḥ*' of the *Upaniṣad* was no other than the heat-energy or will-power of the divine primordial Energy. Potential divine Energy or Īśvara was alone before the *projection* of the phenomenon, and He willed to be *many* ('*eko'haṃ vahu syām*'), and that *will* is the cause of the world-manifestation. Therefore the world of appearance came into being in the form of rhythm. That rhythm was continuous and eternal, and the sun, moon, stars, and all other satellites of the solar system also observe the rhythmic movement.

Philosophical Conceptions of Rhythm and Tempo

Rhythm is included in the time's side, and, therefore, it is considered as the intellectual side of music, whereas melody as its sensuous side. Edward Macdowell said that rhythm denotes a thought and there is will as well as purpose behind rhythm,

and its vital part is intention and power, and it is an act and it acts or plays the role of eternal succession of time.

Rhythm connotes the ideas of *tāla*, or beating of time. It has been said before that the word *tāla* came into being from the word *tala* or *karatala* i.e. palms of the hands. In primitive time, the simple-hearted savage peoples used to sing and dance and keep time or measure of time by the clapping of hands, and it seems that from the clapping of hands i.e. *karatāli*, the word *tāla* evolved.

We know that time is considered as superior to space, as space is produced out of time, or it can be said that two units of time (or moment) give rise to the idea of pace or space. Samuel Alexander said that there neither is time without space, nor space without time, and so time and space are co-existent. Time in itself is not perceivable, but for its parts or divisions like *kalā*, *kāṣṭhā*, *nemeṣa*, *muhurta*, etc., it is perceived as material objects. Besides, space, in its very nature is temporal, and time, spatial.

In the Atharva-veda (AV. XIX. 53.12), *kāla* or time is conceived as a horse with seven bridles. The sun is also known as *saptāśva*. The *aśva* or horse is no other than the rays of the sun. So the conception of time is connected with the sun, and it is a fact that we get the idea of time (morning, midday, evening) from the sun. In the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*, one of the texts of the Pañcharātra literature, *kāla* or time is mentioned with *guṇa* (quality) and *niyati* (destinity). Dr. Otto Schrader described them (*kāla*, *guṇa*, and *niyati*) in his *Introduction to the Ahirbudhnya-Samhita* (published from the Adyar, Madras). While describing the philosophy, as contained in the above *Saṁhitā*, Dr. S. N. Dāsgupta wrote that in the energy (*śakti*) of God, their exist the subtle entities of *guṇa* and *kāla*. Through the operation of the supreme energy or will of God (*Viṣṇu-saṁkalpa-choditaḥ*) there springs up from time-energy (*kāla-śakti*) the subtle Destinity (*niyati*), which represents the universal ordering element (*sarva-niyāmakaḥ*).[1] Similarly, in

1. Vide, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. III, p. 45.

the Śaiva philosophy, thirty-six categories like *kāla*, *kalā*, *niyati*, etc. have been conceived for the function of the process of evolution. *Kāla* and *guṇa* exist in the womb of *Śakti* or *Prakṛti*. This *Prakṛti* is the primordial Energy which gives rise to the idea of eternal *kāla* or time as well as of *deśa* or space. Prof. Alexander called Space-Time as the Deity or God who is the cause and eternal matrix of the world-process. Regarding *deśa* or *ākāśa*, which gives rise to space of the temporal units, Dr. Dāsgupta said that it is associated with the quality of *śabda* or sound, and gives room for all things. Nyāya philosophy said that *śabda* is the quality of *ākāśa*. *Akāśa* is thus to be regarded as unoccupied or empty space which is supposed to be associated with the quality of sound.[2]

In fact, the twin aspect of time is space which gives rise the conception of *laya* or tempo. The abstract space is an absolute reality, which is known as the *Mahākāla*. *Mahākāla* becomes *Kāli* or Divine Energy when she assumes the dance of dynamicity. Dynamic *Kāli* or Energy manifests Herself as innumerable time-units on the breast of the measureless space which is static. This static *ākāśa* or space is conceived as *Mahākāla* Śiva. Therefore *Mahākāla* and *Kāli*—space and time form the world of eternity.

Further we find that distinction in time such as moment etc. happens due to various adjuncts of time, and our conception of moment etc. depends on some action. Kant made time the form of intuition. He made it the subjective condition and manner of perception of things, both inner and outer.[3] In Kant's language, space and time can be said to be the forms of sensibility. "Space is the form or sensibility, as external, time, the form, both as internal and external." In fact, time and space form the matrix of the appearance of the

2. Ibid, p. 48.

3. Vide, Dr. K. K. Mandal: *A Comparative Study of the Concepts of Space and Time in Indian Thought* (Varanasi, 1968), p. 87.

universe, and they control and conduct the things and materials of the world. Vedānta admitted the fact that *kāla* and *dik* (time and space) are the background of the cosmic order. In music, time and space—rhythm and tempo play an important role for creating a systematic order and also for controlling and beautifying the arts of *nṛtya*, *gīta* and *vādya*. In fact, rhythm and tempo—time and temporal space-unit create a standard for measuring the unmeasurable eternal length and breadth of the manifestation of the entire art. Besides, there are grades of manifestation of rhythm and tempo, which are known as slow (*vilambita*), medium (*madhya*) and rapid (*druta*), and these grades or motions (*gatis*) create different psychological influences in the minds of both the artists and the audieencs. The slow motions of rhythm and tempo create calmness and balanced attitude of the mind.

Rhythm and Tempo in European Music

It has been said before that rhythm is generally recognised from the *time* side of music distinct from *pitch* side, and Prof. Percy A. Scholes admitted it. It takes in beats, accents, measures or bars, grouping of notes into beats, grouping of beats into measures, grouping of measures into phrases, and so forth. Prof. Scholes said that the twentieth-century composers have often, likewise, a great many changes of measure-valves, and hence of time-measures in their music, whether vocal or instrumental. Such devices suggest an effort after the effect of prose rhythms as distinct from that of verse rhythms. He was of the opinion that in rhythm, the sense of accuracy and judgement is necessary to arrange and combine the notes or series of notes with its regular and periodic time-measures (*tālas*). It is also necessary for rise and fall of the intervals of notes of the melody in music.

D. F. Tovey said that there are two ancient elements in musical rhythm, and they are body-rhythm and speech-rhythm. In modern European music, these two elements are in equi-

poise, though apart from music they are incompatible. There is also a dance-rhythm which can be known as the musical body-rhythm. The classical European music uses only binary and ternary times. Sir Donald Tovey is of the opinion that freedom is as necessary in music as it is in speech ; but fine playing, whether in obvious tempo rubato or in apparent strictness, bases this freedom on the superlative accuracy of good rhythmic notation. The rhythms of Greek tragedy, interpreted syllabically, are suggestive, and so are many Oriental rhythms. But they are not body-rhythms.

Mr. W. R. Anderson was right when he said that rhythm is not something imposed on music. Whether there be or be not words, the rhythm is inherent in the music. It is not only its leg, but its life. And that life, like ours, is often subtle and complex.

In fact, the basic life of music, dance, and drumming depends upon rhythm which may be known as the time-pattern. In music, rhythm comprehends the placing of note over against note—short or long, or in any combination—of phrase over against phrase, sentence with sentence, until the whole piece is complete. Prof. Anderson said that many people can keep time in both music and drumming, but fewer have rhythm. And it should be remembered that rhythm in vocal music is often guided by words, and in drumming, by beating or keeping the time.

Similarly 'tempo' is known as the time-signature which tells us nothing about the pace of music. The sense of tempo is a larger aspect of the body-rhythm, and in classical European music, it is very steady. A fundamental law of all musical rhythm, said Sir Tovey, is that a burrying or slucken-ing of tempo has no power to alter the rhythmic organization.

Prof. Scholes said tempo usually means speed. 'Upon the choice of the best speed the effect of the music greatly depends'. Every composition may be said to have its correct tempo, but this is not capable of being minutely fixed without

scope of variation, as to some exact circumstantial factors enter, such as the character of the instrument used...... "The general tempo of a composition", said Dr. Scholes, "has, since the seventeenth century, been usually indicated by the composer by the use of a series of Italian terms accepted by musicians to all countries...... The Italians use the word *Tempo* not only in the above sense but also in the derived sense of 'Movement' (in a sonata, symphony, etc.). A great number of expressions include *Tempo* in the first sense, e.g. *A Tempo*, 'in time' after rall, accel, etc., and these which follow".

Rhythm and Tempo in Indian Music

In Vedic music, rhythm was observed in composition (*sāhitya*) with the help of metres (*chhanda*). Tunes were added to the *ṛcs* or stanzas, and the *ṛcs* were constituted out of the letters, arranged in different metres. The *ṛc*-stanzas, with tunes, were the *sāmagānas*. Sāyaṇa said : '*sāma-śabda-vāchyasya gānasya sva-rūpamṛgakṣareṣu kruṣṭādibhiḥ saptabhiḥ*' etc.[4] In the *Ṛk-bhāṣya-bhūmikā*, three kinds of *stobhas* are mentioned, and they are *varṇa-stobha*, *pada-stobha*, and *vākhya-stobha*. *Gāthās* were prevalent in the Vedic period. *Gāthās* were the prescribed *mantrams* or verses : '*vihitā mantra-viśeṣā gāthāḥ*'.[5] Both in the *stotra or gāthā-gāna* and *sāmagāna*, rhythm and tempo were used to regulate the letters and tunes of the composition of music. The *Brāh-maṇa* literature stated : '*nocchairgeyaṃ na valavad geyamiti rathan-tara-dharmaḥ. Tasmādubhaya-dharmā vyavatiṣṭhante iti.*'[6] The *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa* stated that the *sāmans* were possessed of stanzas or verses, constructed out of the metres like *vṛhatī*, *jagatī*, *gāyatrī*, *triṣṭubha*. etc. As these metres were balanced by tones and tunes, they were known as the *sāmans*.

In the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, syllables or *varṇas* are known as the

4. सामशब्दवाच्यस्य गानस्य स्वरूपमृगक्षरेषु क्रुष्टादिभिः सप्तभिः * * ।
5. विहिता मन्त्रविशेषा गाथाः ।
6. नोच्चैर्गेयं न वलवद् गेयमिति रथन्तर धर्मः । तस्मादुभयधर्मा व्यवतिष्ठन्ते इति ।

sound or *svara*. The sound or *svara* has been divided into different time-units like *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta*. The *hrasva* sound lasts for only one *mātrā* or one unit of time, the *dīrgha*, for two *mātrās* or two units of time, and the *pluta*, for three *mātrās* or three units of time. The sound or *svara* is also known as the letter or *akṣara* : '*svaro'kṣaramityuktam*.'[7] For this reason, the authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* designate the register-notes (*sthāna-svaras*), *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* as letters : '*udāttas-chānudāttaścha svaritaścha saṁkṣepataḥ svarāstrayo veditavyāḥ*.'[8] In the Vedic literature, these are also known as the notes. Śaunaka said in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* that all the musical notes, both *vaidika* and *laukika*, were represented in three different ways, bass, circumflex, and acute, i.e., *mandra, madhya*, and *tāra*. Three different modes were adopted for three kinds of pronunciation, and they were slow, medium and fast, i.e. *vilambita, madhya*, and *druta*. The 48th aphorism of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* runs thus : '*mātrā-viśeṣaḥ prativṛtyupaiti*'.[9] That is, in every *vṛtta* the number of *mātrā* is increased. The *mātrā* is a measuring unit, which connotes the idea of division of time (*kṣaṇa-bheda*). The old Sanskrit verses of musical pieces were[10] of two kinds, *varṇa-vṛtta* and *mātrā-vṛtta*, i.e., one was determined by the syllable-unit, and other by time-unit. Both these units were known as *chanda* and *laya*, i.e. rhythm and tempo.

Śaunaka dealt with the topics of *chhanda* in connection with correct reading of the Vedas. They were *gāyatrī, uṣṇika, anuṣṭupa, vṛhatī, paṅkti, triṣṭupa*, and *jagatī*. Besides them, there were other metres like *atijagatī, śakkarī, sātipurvā, dhṛti, atidhṛti, prakṛti, ākṛti, nikṛti*, and *saṁkṛti*, etc. Siṁhabhupāla said that these metres or *chhandas* were used in the *sāmagāna*

7. स्वरोऽक्षरमित्युक्तम् ।
8. उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च संक्षेपतः स्वरास्त्रयो वेदितव्याः ।
9. मात्राविशेषः प्रतिवृत्युपैति ।
10. Vide the Appendix in the end of this chapter.

and Vedic recitations.[11] In the *Rk-prātiśākhya*, we find mention of the *mātrās* or measuring units of time, and they were similar to the tonalities and pitch-values of the sounds of the birds and other animals : '*chāṣastu vadate mātrām dvimātrām vāyaso'bravīt*', etc.[12] Sometimes the letters of the Vedic metres used to play the role of *mātrās* (time-beats) and those *mātrās* or time-beats were accompanied by the recitation or pronunciation of the verses of the *sāmans*. Five kinds of accents were used in the *sāman*-chants, and Dr. Felber said that they were : (1) stress on accentuation ; (2) the interval, its arrangement, and choice ; (3) the intensity of voice ; (4) enrichment through ornamentation ; and (5) mutual tone-ratio between the different musical pitches. Musical pitches were lowered or heightened or balanced as the notes in the verses used to signify. The numbers upon the words of the verses used to indicate temper and tensity of the sounds like low, medium, and high. Some are of the opinion that the figures upon the words of the verses were indications of the *mūrcchanās* or ascending-descending notes of the *sāmans*. Sometimes the numbers used to indicate the downward series of tones. The metrical relations of the verses or *sāmans* were manifested in the forms of rhythm as well as tempo.

The word 'tempo' or *laya* simultaneously indicates the idea of time-beats or *tāla*, as one is interlinked with or counterpart of the other. In fact, the tempo is realized in the continuity and different cadences or measured movements of the time-beats or *tāla*. Sārangadeva (early thirteenth century) said that music, both vocal and instrumental, drumming and dancing are based on time-measure or *tāla* : '*gītaṃ vādyaṃ tathā nṛtyaṃ yatastāle pratiṣṭhitam*'.[13] In the age of the great epics, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Harivaṁśa*, the artists and musicologists were fully acquainted with different accents, letters, *mātrās* and

11. Vide the commentary '*Sudhākara* by Siṁhabhupāla.

12. चाषस्तु वदते मात्राम् द्विमात्राम् वायसोऽब्रवीत्, etc.

13. गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं यतस्ताले प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

tālas : '*kalā-mātrā-viśeṣajñā*', etc.[14] The compilor of the *Mahābhārata*, while explaining the process of beating of the time, said : '*pāṇi-tāla-satālaiścha śamyā-tālaiḥ samaistathā*'.[15] From this it is evident that time was strictly maintained with the help of palms. The word '*tāla*' connotes the idea of measure of the specified time. Siṁhabhupāla clarified it by saying : '*gītādeḥ mitir-māṇaṃ vidadhat kurvaṇ kālaḥ tāla ityuchyate*'.[16] Time or *kāla* is the temporal unit or *tāla*. The time also presupposes the idea of space i.e. *deśa*. The great scientist Einstein admitted the co-relation of time and space in his *Theory of Relativity*. He said like the English philosopher, Samuel Alexander that Space-Time is the primal stuff, of which all the phenomenal things are made, though space is three dimensional and time is one dimensional. As time cannot be conceived without space, so *kāla* or *tāla* cannot be thought of as separate from *deśa*, because time is extended to the space, and space bears its existence in time.

Though the idealist philosophers consider time as an inherent category of the mind, yet they admit its objective manifestation. Sir Arthur Eddington said that our "knowledge of space-relations is indirect, like nearly all our knowledge of the external world—a matter of inference and interpretation of the impressions which reach us through our sense-organs. We have similar indirect knowledge of the time-relations, existing between the events in the world outside us ; but in addition we have direct experience of the time-relations that we ourselves are traversing—a knowledge of time, not coming through external sense-organs, but taking a short cut into our consciousness. When I close my eyes and retreat into my inner mind, I feel myself *enduring*, I do not feel myself *extensive*. It is this feeling of time as affecting ourselves and not merely

14. कलामात्राविशेषज्ञा ।
15. पाणिताल-सतालैश्च शम्यातालैः समैस्तथा ।
16. गीतादेः मितिर्माणं बिदधत् कुर्वण कालः ताल इत्युच्यते ।

as existing in the relations of external events which is so peculiarly characteristic of it; space on the other hand is always appreciated as something external". Further he said elsewhere that whatever "may be time *de jure*, the Astronomer Royal's time is time *de facto*. His time permeates every corner of physics. It stands in no need of logical defence; it is in the much stronger position of a vested interest. It has been woven into the structure of the classical physical scheme" (Vide *The Nature of the Physical World*). In music, time has been considered as real, and though it has been recognized as eternal, yet it has been divided into minute units, as *kalā*, *kāṣṭhā* for practical use. The authors on music have made use of those units for the measured and well-balanced rendering of tones and tunes.

Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) dealt with the problem of time-units in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in connection with the dramatic music (*nāṭya-gīti*), *gāndharva* or *dhruvā*. He said that he, who is devoid of the sense of *tāla*, can neither be called a singer nor a drummer, because the art of drama is based on timing or *tāla*. Now, what do we mean by a *tāla*? Bharata said that *tāla* is a definite measure of time, and *gāna* or music rests on *tāla*: '*gānaṃ tālena dhāryate*' ?[17] The means and materials of *tāla* are *yati*, *pāṇi*, and *laya*: '*aṅga-bhūtā hi tālasya yati-pāṇi-layāḥ smṛtāḥ*'.[18] The *laya* or tempo means the difference of one unit of time (*kalā*) from another: '*kalā-kālāntara-kṛtaṃ sa layo nāma saṃjñitam*'.[19] The *laya* or tempo is divided into fast, medium and slow speeds, i.e. *druta*, *madhya*, and *vilamvita*. The determining principle of notes and timing (*svara* and *tāla*) is *pada*. The *pada* is composed of letters (*akṣaras*). It can be said to be the verse (*sāhitya*) of music.

The rhythm and tempo have elaborately been discussed by

17. गानं तालेन धार्यते ।
18. अङ्गभूता हि तालस्य यति-पाणि-लयाः स्मृताः ।
19. कला-कालान्तरकृतं स लयो नाम संज्ञितम् ।

Bharata in the 29th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and Śāraṅgadeva in the 6th chapter of the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Bharata mentioned the names of the *tālas*, as *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, *praveśaka*, *śamyā*, *sannipāta*, *parivarta*, etc. He divided the *tāla* into two main heads, beat without sound, and beat with sound, i.e. *niḥśabda* and *sa-śabda* (निःशब्द and सशब्द). The *tālas* like *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, and *praveśaka* are known as beats without sound i e. *niḥśabda*, while *dhruva*, *sannipāta* etc. as *sa-śabda-vādya*. The *tālas* are strictly measured by *laya* or tempo. Bharata said that *laya* or tempo is determined by the speeds like slow, medium, and fast, i.e. *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*. Or it can be said that the forms of speed in time-measure or *tāla* are known as *laya* or tempo. Siṁhabhupāla clarified the passage by saying : '*taiḥ mitā paricchinnaḥ kālastāla ityuchyate*'.[20] Śāraṅgadeva divided *tāla* into *mārga* and *deśī*. The movements or beats of the *mārga-tāla* have already been explained. He called the beat without sound (निःशब्द) as *kalā*, and *kalā* is divided into *tālas* like *āvāpā*, etc. The *mātrā* is also known as *kalā*. The *kalā* is of three kinds, *chitra*, *vārtika*, and *dakṣiṇa*. Some admit *dhruva* as the fourth *kalā*. *Kalā*, *kāṣṭhā*, *nimeṣa*, and other time-units are called as *tāla-kalā*. Like *vidārī* or different units of melody, *yati* and *prakaraṇa* are included in the category of *tāla*. But, strictly speaking, *yati* is a kind of method of application of *laya* or tempo. It is of three kinds, *samā*, *srotogatā* and *gopucchā*. (a) The *samā-yati* possesses three units of tempo, i.e. one in the beginning, one in the middle, and the last one in the end. (b) The *srotogatā* contains three units of tempo, the first one is slow or *vilamvita*, the middle one is medium or *madhya*, and the last one is fast or *druta*. (c) The *gopucchā-yati* consists of three units of tempo, and in the beginning of the *gīti* or song, the tempo is fast, in the middle it is medium and in the end it is slow. Some are of the opinion that in *gopucchā*, the first tempo is fast or *druta*,

20. तैः मिता परिच्छिन्नः कालस्ताल इत्युच्यते ।

the middle one is slow or *vilamvita*, and the last one is also slow or *vilamvita*.

Śāraṅgadeva said that the *śuddha-jātis* or *jatirāga-gānas* like *dhruvās* and rectified regional *gītis* like *māgadhī*, *ardha-māgadhī*, etc. were practised with different kinds of *tālas*. These *tālas* were composed of different units of time-beats (*kalās* or *mārgas*). The *gītis* or songs were also followed by *vṛttis* and *gatis*. The presentations of those *gītis* differed with the alteration of tempo or *laya*. It has already been said that not only Śāraṅgadeva, but all the later musicologists also divided *tāla* into two main heads, *mārga* and *deśī*. The *mārga-tālas* are *dhruva*, *chitra*, *vārtika*, *dakṣiṇa* etc. They have mentioned another two kinds of *mārga tāla* like *chatuḥrasra* and *tryasra* (चतुःरस्र and त्रयस्र), which are known as *chacchatputa* and *chāchaputa*. All these *tālas* are represented in three different modes, slow, medium and fast, i.e. *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*. They are determined by *yatis* like *samā*, *srotogatā*, and *gopucchā*. A *yati* is no other than a method of application of tempo or *laya* : '*laya-pravṛtti-niyamo yatiḥ*'.[21] The *mārga-tālas* are composed of *grahas* like *sama*, *atīta*, and *anāgata*. The word '*graha*' connotes the idea of *gati* or speed. The *grahas*, *sama*, etc. are also known as *samapāṇi*, *avapāṇi*, and *uparipāṇi*. These *grahas* are determined by the tempi like *vilamvita*, *madhya*, and *druta*.

Śāraṅgadeva and his followers were of the opinion that the *deśi-tālas* are 120 in number : '*viṁśatya-bhyadhikaṃ śataṃ*'. Others admit 224, or 108 *deśī-tālas*. The *deśī-tālas* are *ādi*, *dvitīyaka*, *tṛtīya*, *chaturthaka*, *pañchama*, *darpaṇa*, *ratilīla*, *siṁhalīla*, *chaturmukha*, *chatustāla*, *yati*, *tribhaṅgī*, *rāja-vidyādhara*, *śrīkīrti*, *karaṇayati*, *lalitā*, etc. The mode, nature, and characteristics of the *tālas* were determined by different *merus* like *guru-meru*, *druta-meru*, *pluta-meru*, *samyoga-meru*, etc. Besides, the *prastāras* or *khaṇḍa-prastāras* were used for their detailed classification. The modern *tālas* of both Hindusthānī and Carnātic system evolved from the ancient *śāstric tālas*.

21. लय-प्रवृत्ति-नियमो यतिः ।

The modern *tālas* of Hindusthānī system are *kāwālī*, *āddhā-kāwālī*, *ḍhimā*, *patatāla*, *samapadīyat*, *kārphā* or *chepkā*, *thuṁrī*, *āḍāṭh·kā*, *madhyamāna*, *ekatāla*, *khemtā*, *bhartaṅga*, *sādrā*, *āḍā-khemtā*, *khayrā*, *chautāla*, *āḍā-chautāla*, *jhāmptāla*, *sūlatāla* or *surphāṅk*, *yat*, *dhāmāra*, *pestā*, *theorā*, *rūpaka*, *rūpakḍā*, *pañcham-soyārī*, *phordosta*, *jhampaka*, *veerpañcha*, etc. Besides them, we find *rudratāla*, *brahmatāla*, *brahmayoga*, *lakṣmītāla*, *mohana-tāla*, *śaktitāla*, *gaṇḍakītāla*, *rāsatāla*, *śaṅkaratāla*, *karālamañcha*, *dobāhāra*, *khāmsā*, etc. Some of the rhythmical patterns of *tālas* can be illustrated thus,

1. Tritāla : 4+4+4+4=16
2. Chautāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2=12
   4 — 4 — 4
3. (a) Dhāmāra : 3+2+2+3+2+2=14
   (b) do : 5+2+3+4=14
   =(1+2+3+4+5+5/6+7/ 8+9+10/11+12+13+14)
4. Āḍī-chautāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14
5. Jhāmptāla : 2+3+2+3=10
6. Sūlatāla : 2+2+2+2+2=10
7. Dīpachaṇḍī : 3+4+3+4=14
8. Jhumrā : 3+4+3+4=14
9. Tilavāḍā : 4+4+4+4=16
10. Ekatāla : (a) 2+2+2+2+2+2=12
    (b) 3+3+3+3=12
11. Tīvrā : 3+2+2=7
12. Dādrā : 3+3=6
13. Rūpaka : 3+2+2=7
14. Gajajhampā : 4+4+4+3=15
15. Śikharatāla : 6+6+2+3=17
16. Mattatāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2=18
17. Teorā : 3+2+2=7

18. Pañchamasowārī : 3+3+4+4+4+4+4+4=30 (with 5 strokes)
19. Brahmatāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2 2+2+2=28 (10 strokes).

Paṇḍit Kāśīnāth Appaya-Tulsī tried to trace some similarity between the modern *tālas* and the ancient ones, in his *Abhinava-tālamañjarī*. As for example, he compares *āḍā-chautāla* with *chatustāla*, as described by Śāraṅgadeva in his *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*. Appaya-Tulsī said : 'रत्नाकर इरितोस्ति च यथाभिध्यश्चतुस्तालकः'। Śāraṅgadeva said that *chatustāla* consists of 1 *guru*+3 *druta*=3½ *mātrās* : 'चतुस्ताज्ञो गुरोः परे त्रयो द्रुताः इति'। *Chatustāla* and *āḍā-chautāla* may be compared to *daśa-kuśī*, as used in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, to some extent. Regarding *jhumrā*, Appaya-Tulsī said : 'ग्रन्थे रत्नाकरेऽसौ सुमतिभिरुदितोस्त्यन्तव क्रीडसङ्गः', i.e. the ancient name of *jhumrā* is *krīḍasaṅga*. *Jhumrā* is of 14 *mātrās*, and it is also knows as *teota*. Some are of the opinion that *teota* has been derived from *trivata*, which is again derived from *triputa*. Regarding *dhāmāra*, Appaya-Tulsī said : 'सोऽयं चण्ड इति स्वयं निगदितः श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवेनाहि', i.e. the ancient name of *dhāmāra* is *chaṇḍa*. Śāraṅgadeva described *chaṇḍa* as : 'द्रुतत्रयं लघुद्वन्द्वं चण्डताले वभाषिरे', which means 00011. *Dhāmāra* is sometimes known as *vṛhat-tāla*. As regards *chautāla* or *chatustāla*, Appaya-Tulsī said : 'सत्वारिरिति विश्रुतोस्ति दशपञ्च यस्मिन् कलाः। स एव गजझम्प इत्यभिहितोस्ति रत्नाकरे', i.e. the *śāstric* and ancient name of *chautāla* is *gajaj-hampa*. As regards *rūpaka*, Appaya-Tulsī mentioned : 'शास्त्रे सौ कथितस्तृतीय इति निःशङ्केन रत्नाकरे', i.e. Niḥśaṅka or Śāraṅgadeva called *rūpaka* as *tṛtīya-tāla*, which is composed of 7 *mātrās*. But we have seen that all estimates of Appaya-Tulsī were not acceptable, as the names and time-measures (*mātrās*) of the *tālas* differ from those of the other masters.

The South Indian system of music adopted a scheme of 35 *tālas*, which were developed by Purandaradāsa. It is said that only 35 *tālas* were determined by time-units of *laghu*, *drutam* and *aṇudrutam*. From the scheme of 35 *tālas*, we know that main *tālas* are 7 in number, and they each contain 5 constituent *aṅgas* or varieties, resulting 7 × 5 = 35 *tālas*. The

aṅgas are *aṇudrutam, drutam, guru, plutam* and *kākapādam*. The five *aṅgas* are composed of different units or *kalās*, which are again constituted out of the letters (*akṣaras*), in relation to time-units or *mātrās*, and they are :

(a) *Aṇudrutam* consists of 1 letter and 1/4 and time-unit.

(b) *Drutam* consists of 2 letters and ½ time-unit.

(c) *Guru* consists of 8 letters and 2 time-units.

(d) *Plutam* consists of 12 letters and 3 time-units.

(e) *Kākapādam* consists of 16 letters and 4 time-units.

Some admit six *aṅgas*, including *laghu*, having 4 letters and 1 time unit or *mātrā*. The time-values are observed by the beats (*ghāta* or *āghāta*) and silence (*khāli* or *phāṅk*). Their values, being constant, have no variation or alteration. But the *akṣarakalā* of each *tāla* can easily be altered. The *tālas* are again classified under the head of different *jātis* like *tisra, misra, khaṇḍa, saṅkīrṇa*, and *chatusra*. They can be illustrated as,

I. *Tisra jāti* consists of three time-units (*mātrās*). Different time-beats (*tālas*), having three, six, nine, twelve and twenty-four time-units, belong to the *tisra-jāti*.

II. *Miśra-jāti* is the combination of the *jātis* like *chatusra* and *tisra*. It consists of seven time-units.

III. *Khaṇḍa-jāti* is consisted of five time-units, and the, time-beats, with five, ten, and fifteen time-units belong to the *khaṇḍa-jāti*.

IV. *Saṅkīrṇa-jāti* comprises of nine time-units. The time-beats, with nine, eighteen and thirty-six time-units belong to the *saṅkīrṇa-jāti*.

V. *Chatusra-jāti* consists of four time-units and time-beats, with four, eight, sixteen and thirty-two time-units belong to the *chatusra-jāti*.

There are 35 *alaṁkāras* for illustrating 35 *tālas*. The nomenclature of the *tālas* are based on *kaṭapayādi* and *bhuta-saṅkhyās*. The main 7 *tālas* of the South Indian system are *dhruva, maṭya rūpaka, jhampa, triputa, aṭa*, and *eka*. As for example,

(a) The *dhruva-tāla* consists of 4+2+4+4=14 time-units (*mātrās*), having 4 strokes.
(b) The *matya-tāla* consists of 4+2+4=10 time-units, having 3 strokes.
(c) The *rūpaka-tāla* consists of 2+4=6 time-units, having 2 strokes.
(d) The *jhampa-tāla* consists of 4+1+2=7 time-units, having 3 strokes.
(e) The *triputa-tāla* consists of 4+2+2=8 time-units, having 3 strokes.
(f) The *ata-tāla* consists of 4+4+2+2=12 time-units, having 4 strokes.
(g) The *eka-tāla* consists of 4 time-units, having only one stroke.

It should be remembered that values of all the time-units (*mātrās*) are considered as light or *laghu*, and the number of the units can be changed into more time-beats or *tālas*. All the main *tālas* and their varieties possess definite letter-units or *akṣarakalās* for a circle or *āvarta*. From the detailed list of the South Indian *tālas* it appears that though most of them differ in their names, yet their system of *mātrā* and rhythmical accent are almost similar to those of the *tālas* current in ancient times. Besides, nine *navasandhi-tālas* are still current in South India. Some are of the opinion that the nine *nava-sandhi-tālas* were practised in sacred rituals and ceremonies, and also before the deities of the holy shrines and the temples. The *champu-tāla* and its varieties, and the *deśādī* and *madhyamādi tālas* are also current in South India. Prof. Sāmbamoorthy is of the opinion that the players of the *mṛdaṅgams* in the South, when accompanying the musicians, do not merely beat the *svara-laghu*, but 'provides a cross-rhythmical accompaniment, based on the style, movement and rhythmical construction of the pieces rendered'.

Rhythmical harmony or rhythmical construction is vital for the *tāla* systems of all the civilized countries of the world.

The *tāla* system of the classical *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal is worth-mentioning in this connection. We have seen that number of *tālas*, both simple and intricate, is innumerable in the *padāvalī-kīrtana*, as rhythmical movements, *kalās* and *layas* of the *padāvalī-kīrtana* are different from those of the classical Hindusthānī and Carnātic music to some extent. In the *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*, *Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa*, *Saṅgīta-ratnāvalī*, *Saṅgīta-sāra-saṁgraha*, and other music treatises of Bengal and Orissā, many of the *tālas* of classical music and *padāvalī-kīrtana* have been discussed, along with other classical forms.[22]

22. Śārańgadeva mentioned 120 *deśī tālas*, with their divisions of metres. He said :

आदितालो द्वितीयश्च तृतीयोऽथ ततुर्थकः ॥
पञ्चमो निःशङ्कलोलो दर्पणः सिंहविक्रमः ।
रविलोल. सिंहलीलः कन्दर्पों वीरविक्रमः ॥
रङ्ग श्रीरङ्गचच्चयौं प्रत्यंगो यतिलग्नकः ।
राजचूड़ामणी रंगद्योतो रंगप्रदीपकः ॥
राजतालो वर्णतालः सिंहविक्रीड़तो जयः ।
बनमाली हंसनादः सिंहनादः कुडुक्ककः ॥
तरंगलीलः शरभलीलः स्यात् सिंहनन्दनः ।
त्रिभंगिरंगाभरणो मण्ठकः कोकिलाप्रियः ॥
निःसारुको राजविद्याधरश्च जयमंगलः ।
मल्लिकामोदविजयानन्दौ क्रीड़ाजयश्रियौ ॥
मकरन्दः कीर्तितालः श्रीकीर्तिः प्रतितालकः ।
विजयो विन्दुमालो च समनन्दनमण्ठिकाः ॥
दीपकोदीक्षणौ ढेङ्की विषमो वर्णमण्ठिका ।
अभिनन्दोऽनंगनान्दीमल्लकङ्कालकन्दुकाः ॥
एकताली च कुमुदश्चतुस्ताली च डोम्बुली ।
अभंगो बायवङ्कोलो वसन्तो लघुशेखरः ॥
प्रतापशेखरो झम्पा गजझम्पश्चतुर्मुखः ।
मदनः प्रतिमण्ठश्च पार्वतीलोचनो रतिः ॥
लीलाकरणयत्याख्योश्च च लक्ष्मीशो ललितप्रियः ॥
श्रीनन्दनश्च जनको वर्धनो रागवर्धनः ।
पट्तालश्चान्तरक्रीड़ा हंसोतसवविलोकिताः ॥

Now, what is the psychological significance and value of rhythm and tempo in Indian music? What is the prime object of using the music materials like rhythm and tempo? Everything subjective is more fundamental than the objective one. Well has it been said by E. B. Havell, in connection with the beauty of Fine Art: 'Beauty, * * * * is subjective, not objective. It is not inherent in form or matter; it belongs only to spirit, and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision'. Really spirit can be appreciated by spirit. The emotive feeling and spiritual experience are absolutely personal and subjective. Rhythm and tempo are primarily the *projections* of one's own personality. The objective perception of rhythm and tempo involves the whole organism, and it requires primarily five fundamental capacities. Dr. Seashore said in the *Psychology of Music* that 'the first two of these are the sense of time and the sense of intensity, corresponding respectively to the two attributes of sound, which constitute the sensory media of rhythm. The third and fourth are auditory imagery and motor imagery, that is, the capacity of reviving vividly in representation the auditory experience and motor attitudes respectively. The fifth is a motor impulse for rhythm, an instinctive tendency, chiefly unconscious and largely organic'.

All mental life works eternally in a rhythmical process, and even the objective material things of the universe observe the rhythmical law consciously or unconsciously, propelled by some unknown inscrutable power or energy. According to psychology and philosophy of music, rhythm and tempo are

गजो वर्णयतिः सिंहः करणः सारसस्तथा ।
चण्डतालश्चन्द्रकलालयस्कन्दोऽङ्कतालिकाः ॥
धत्ता द्वन्दमुकुन्दौ च कुबिन्दश्च कलध्वनिः ।
गोरीसरस्वतीकण्ठभरणो भग्नसंज्ञकः ॥
तालो राजमगाङ्कश्च राजमातण्डसंज्ञकः ।
निःशङ्कः शांर्गदेवश्चेत्यैते सोढ़लसूनुना ॥
देशीतालाः समादिष्टाः विंशत्यभ्यधिकं शतम् ।

—संगीत-रत्नाकर ५।२३६—२५३

not only the essential parts of music, but are also vital to our life. They create a complete balance and symmetry in the vibrations or movements of tones and tunes of music, and thus produce a resonance of them in our emotional being, and bestow upon us celestial peace and tranquillity. Everything mental and material bears a spiritual significance and value. Music is best of all arts, and though its inherent ingredients or parts, rhythm and tempo are apparently woven into the warp and woof of contingent phenomenal time and space, yet essentially they transcend the limits of time and space, and make themselves the best means for bringing unto us the transcendental harmony and peace.[23]

23. Cf. *Tālamañjarī* by Apā or Appaya-Tulsī, which has been dealt with the new-devisement of the *tālas*.

Appendix A

It has been discussed that *kāla* is also conceived as the ground or substratum of motion (*gati*). The *Siddhānta-śiromoṇi* of Bhāṣkara mentioned about the following measures of time (*kāla*) : ***truti, tātparya, nimeṣa, kāṣṭḥā, kalā, ghanṭika, kṣaṇa***, etc., Udayana's *Kiraṇāvali*[1] and Sridhara's *Nyāyakandalī* also placed forward the lists of divisions of time as ***muhūrta, kalā, lava***, etc. Sir Brajendranāth Seal elaborately discussed the subject in his monumental book, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. Sir Seal also discussed about the Vedāntic view of division of time.[2]

1. क्षणद्वयं लवः प्रोक्तो निमेषस्तु लवद्वयम् ।
अष्टादशनिमेषस्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशस्तु ताः कला ।
त्रिंशत्कला मुहूर्तः स्यात त्रिंशद्रारात्रणी एते ।।
—कीरणावली

2. Vide pp. 85-92.

Appendix B

Let us quote 'Space as Extension and Space as Position', discussed in *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* : (1915) by Sir Brajendranāth Seal :

Space as Extension and Space as Position : Space must be distinguished as *Deśa* (locus, or rather extension) and *Dik* (relative position). Space (*Dik*) as the totality of position, or as an order of co-existent points, is wholly relative to the understanding, like order in Time, being constructed on the basis of relations of position intuited by our empirical (or relative) consciousness. But there is this difference between Space-order and Time-order : there is no unit of Space as position (*Dik*), though we may conceive a unit of Time, viz. the moment (क्षण), regarded as the unit of change in the phenomenal or causal series ('परमाणुक्रिया—गुणपरिणामस्य क्षणत्ववचनात'—योगवार्तिक), Sūtra 51, Pada III). Spatial position (*Dik*) results only from the different relations in which the all-pervasive *Ākāśa* stands to the various finite (or bounded) objects. On the other hand, Space is extension or locus of a finite body, *Deśa* (locus), has an ultimate unit, being analysable into the infinitesimal extensive quantity inherent in the Reals (*Guṇas*) of Prakṛti. ('गुणप्रकृतेरणुपरिमाणः'-योगवार्तिक। एतेन नित्या दिगपि अप्रामाणिकी आख्याता सामान्यतो दिग्व्यवहाराभावात। * * * कालश्च * * * नेष्यते) * * * The empirical intuition then intuits the phenomenal series of transformations of Energy in the Time-order, and in so doing imports the relation of cause and effect into the course of Nature * * * (योगवार्तिक, Sūtra 51, Pada III).—Ibid, pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEEṆĀ

Musical instruments of India have been divided into four heads: (1) *tata* or stringed instruments, (2) *vitata* or instruments covered with skin, (3) *ghana* or instruments that give resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies, and (4) *suṣira* or wind instruments. All the instruments, not only of India, but also of all the countries of the world, can be included in these four classes or categories.

The *veeṇā* is one of the most ancient stringed instruments that India has produced. The natural tendency of men is to enjoy relaxation in the midst their thousand toilsome and monotonons domestic duties and affairs, and they try to find out the best means of their enjoyment and solace. This tendency also prevailed among the people in the most ancient times. The primitive men were also fond of artistic creation, though they were very simple and crude. They drew inspiration from the aweful beauty of Nature around them, and thus used to elevate and animate their thoughts and emotive feelings.

In the beginning of civilization in Vedic India, men and women used to worship the sky (*Varuṇa*) and the sun (*Mitra*) or the sun in the blue sky (*Mitra-Varuṇa*).[1] With the advancement of civilization and culture primitive men became familiar

1. In the Ṛgvedic time, *Varuṇa* or sky was conceived as the ocean of milk i.e. *kṣiroda-samudra*, and Mitra or Mithra was conceived as the glowing sun floating on it. In fact, the early Ṛgvedic peoples used to think *Varuṇa* as the *kāraṇa-salila* or causal creative waters, from which the manifold world-appearance was created or projected. In the *Purāṇas*, we find the Nārāyaṇa took His seat on the causal ocean, and Lakṣmī, the Prakṛti, attended Him. It is a symbolical idea of creation (*sṛṣṭi*).

with the use of fire, and they regarded it as a diminutive form, nay, the prototype of the glowing sun, the celestial god. They used the fire for various domestic purposes. When they became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals, and used to fight their enemies with the help of bows and arrows. Besides other implements, the bow was also used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, like the blazing flames of the fire. They used to produce the reverberating grave sounds, by pulling the gut strings of the bows (*jyā-śabda* or *dhanuṣtaṅkāra*). That sound may be regarded as the source of their inspiration for designing and constructing the musical instruments of the primitive people. The curvature of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude *veeṇā* and the connecting gut strings. The primitive shape of the *veeṇā* was curved like the body of the bow. It was like the body of the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the strings of the *veeṇā* out of the intestines of wild animals, fastened them to the two extremes of its bent body, and used to play it, by plucking the strings with fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono sweet sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the structure of the *veeṇā*, and to increase the number of its sounds, together with their tonal qualities. The primitive men sometimes connected two horizontal bars of bamboo or wood, fastened a gut string to the two ends of the bars, thus forming a triangle. This type resembled the ancient Georgia, Caucasus, and Finland types of lyre, to some extent.

But the *veeṇā* of India is neither a lyre nor a harp, though we commonly transtale it into English as 'lyre'. It may be included in the Western lyre class of stringed instrument. Regarding lyre, Prof. Panum said that lyre type of stringed instrument was first found in Western Asia, in the land lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Then it made its way to the Nile country and to Greece, where it was quickly

adopted as the national instrument, and where it reached the zenith of its artistic career. The earliest evidence of the existence of a stringed instrument of the lyre family is to be found in Homer (ninth century B.C.), who sometimes called it *phorminx*, sometimes *kitaris*, but evidently he meant the identical instrument in both the cases. 'From a philological point of view', said Prof. Panum, '*phorminx* is considered to be of Hellenic, and *kitaris* of the Asiatic origin'. But *phorminx* alias *kitaris* has been described far more elaborately in the Greek legend of Hermes, than the lyre in Homer. As the theme of the Homeric epic originated in Asia Minor, it is natural to presume that the lyre, mentioned by the poet, was an instrument of Asiatic origin, while the oldest literary sources mentioned only the names *phorminx* and *kitaris*. These two new terms came into fashion during the seventh century B.C.—*lyre* and *kitara*. In the bas-relief of the British Museum, representations of Assyrian horizontal Angle-Harps are found. They resemble the Egyptian bow-harp, and the frame-harp of the Middle Ages, that was used to be carried in an upright position, was plucked by the fingers from both sides.

In the 4000 B.C., we find a bow-harp—Eyptian instrument, which is similar to the bow-shaped *veeṇā* of India and other Asiatic countries. In the mural-paintings at Pompeii, we come across a bow-shaped harp, which was known as the Angle-Harp, and it was similar to Indian *veeṇā*. We find also stringed instruments with seven and nine strings, which were similar to *chitrā* and *vipañchī veeṇās*, as described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Dr. Oskar Seffert said in the *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (1891) that from Strabo's statement we come to know that lyre with seven strings was in practice in the time of Terpender (about 675 or 672 B.C.). He added three more strings to the original lyre of four strings, and increased the compass of the scale from the two conjunct tetrachords of the seven-stringed lyre to a full octave, without increasing the number of the strings. This he did by adding one more string at the upper end of the scale, and taking away the next string

but one (vide also Aristotle : *Problems*, XIX. 32). Prof. Panum said that Plutarch is of the opinion that when Phynis showed his nine-string *kitara* in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekprepes, without hesitation, cut away two of the strings, saying : 'Do not ill-treat music, I beg of you'.

We find, therefore, some transitional, i.e. evolutional stages in the formation of the developed *veeṇā* from the crude bow. The successive stages can generally be divided into three : (1) the bow, with a long gut string ; (2) The bow-instrument, with a finished rod of bamboo or wood, and plucked cord ; and (3) The instrument, with gourd, finished rod and different chords or strings. (1) The first one produced a grave sound, reverberating far and near, when pulled by the fingers, at the time of discharge of the arrows. The grave sound served as signal for imminent danger. (2) The second one worked as an element of tension, for creating vibrations for agreeable sound. The cords were struck by a plectrum, or a piece of bamboo or wood, instead of an arrow. (3) The third one worked as an element of length for measure. The strings were attached from one end to the other, and they produced different sounds, when pulled by the fingers, or plucked by the plectrum. Further the third one gradually underwent many changes, with more complex construction and richness in volume of the sound, emanating therefrom. In fact, the bow is the origin of all kinds of stringed instruments.

Now it will be interesting to know how the word '*veeṇ*' or '*veeṇā*' was coined for the most ancient stringed instrument of India. In the Ṛkveda, we do not get directly any word like *veeṇā*, respresenting a stringed instrument. The great German indologist, Max Muller was of the same opinion, when he said : 'There is no authority for *veeṇā*, meaning either lyre or flute in the Vedas'. But, instead of the term '*veeṇā*', we get the word '*vāṇa*' (वाण) and '*kṣoṇa*' (क्षोण) in the Ṛkveda : धमंतो बाणं मरुतः सुदानवो मदे सोमस्य रण्यानि चक्रिरे (ṚK. 1·85·10) ; युवं श्यावाय रुशतीमदत्त' महः क्षोणस्याश्विना कण्वाय (ṚK. 1·118·7) ; माता यन्मंतुर्यूथस्य पर्व्याभि वाणस्य सप्तधातुरिज्जनः (ṚK. 10·32·4). Besides a reference of the

musical instrument '*piṅga*' is also found in it, which means, said R. C. Dutt, the 'bow-instrument', or *dhanuryantram* (धनुर्यन्त्रम्), the forerunner of the violin family. In the ṚK. 8.69.9, we find,

अव स्वराति गर्गरो गोधा परि-सनिष्वणत् ।
पिंगा परि चनिष्कददिंद्राय ब्रह्मोद्यतम् ॥

Gargara and *godhā* are also the musical instruments, and *godhā* has been described in the latter Vedic literature as *veeṇā* i.e. *godhā-veeṇā*,—the *veeṇā* with strings of gut of the *godhā* : 'गोधावीणाका: काण्डवीणाकाश्च पत्न्यो वादयन्ति'—कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र १३।५०. However, the musical instrument *vāṇa* has also been mentioned in the Atharvaveda (10.2.27), where it is said : 'को बाणम को नृतो दधौ'।

Now, regarding the verse : 'धमंतो वाणं' etc. (1.85.10), the commentator Sāyaṇa said : 'ते मरुतः वाणं शतसंख्याभस्तन्त्रीभियुक्तं वीणाविशेषं धमन्ते वादयन्तः', and regarding the verse : 'युवां श्यावाय' etc. (1·118·7), he said : 'कण्वाय क्षोणस्य क्षोणः शब्दकारिवीणाविशेषः महामहतः क्षोणस्य श्रवः शब्दं अध्यधत्तम उपसो विज्ञानार्थं अधिकं कुरुतम।' Again on commenting on the words : 'वाणस्य सप्तधातुरिज्जनः' (ṚK. 10·32·4), Sāyaṇa observed that '*sapta-dhātu*' means 'seven tones' as procured from the hundred strings of the *vāṇa* (*veeṇā*). Kātyāyana used this word *vāṇa*, with a hundred strings : 'वाणेन शतन्तुना', though in his time, the *vāṇa* was known as the modified *kātyāyana-veeṇā* (with hundred strings), and an instrument is also prevalent even in these days in Kāśmīr in the name of '*saṇtur*', with hundred helping or side strings. Kātyāyana said that the strings of the *vāṇa-veeṇā* were made of the *muñjā*-grass, twisted with care. Āchārya Karka mentioned about the *vāṇa*, when commenting in the verse : 'वाणेन शततन्तुना' (13·32) 'वाणो महति वीणा, शतं तन्तवो यस्यासौ शततन्तुः, तेनोपाकरणम।'

Now, from all these references, we can conclude that *vāṇa* was the most ancient type of stringed instrument, and that different kinds of stringed instruments were designed after it, in later days. Again from the study of the oldest literature of the world, the Vedas, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Sūtras*, we may conclude like Mr. J. F. Rowbotham that in most ancient times,

music passed mainly through three stages of development, each characterized by a separate class of instrument. The instruments of percussion or drum like *dundubhi*, *bhūmi-dundubhi*, *panava*, etc. supposed to be the oldest, while the instruments of wind or flute (*veṇu* or *vaṁśa*) come next in order of time and civilization, and stringed instruments like *vāṇa*, *kṣoṇa*, etc. (of the *veeṇā* or lyre or harp class) are the latest invention of every separate race.

The word '*veeṇā*' seems to have been derived from its forerunner, *vāṇa*, which means 'to sound' ('*vaṇ*'—to sound or to move+*ghañ*). Max Muller translated *vāṇa* as the 'human voice'. The term '*vāṇa*' (वाणः) has been derived from the root '*van*' (वन) which means 'sound' (शब्दः) or 'speed' (गतिः). Pāṇini said : 'वण शब्दे' (भाः गः) or 'वण गतौ' (अः गः) + घञ् (३।३।८१). That is, 'वाणः शब्दः गतिर्वा' अस्य अस्ति अर्थे अर्श आदित्व-निबन्धन अच्' (पाणिनि ५।२।१२९). The term '*veeṇā*' (वीणा) has been derived as 'व्येति जायते स्वरोऽस्याम्' i.e. 'वी गत्यादिषु'—'वी'-धातु रास्नसान्सा इत्यादिना (उः ३।१५ उनादिक न-प्रत्ययः। निपातने सिद्धत्वात 'न' स्थाने 'ण' + स्त्री-आप्।' That is, '*vaṇ*' (वण) धातुः (of *vāṇa*) conveys the idea of both 'sound' (शब्द) and musical tone (स्वरः) and at same time 'speed' (गतिः), and *vyeti* (व्येति) of *veeṇā* conveys the idea of 'sound' (शब्द स्वरर्वा), and from these derivations we get the term 'sound' (शब्द स्वरर्वा) common to both, *vāṇa* and *veeṇā*. Again 'sound' or 'tone' (शब्दः स्वरर्वा) involved in it the 'speed' or motion (गतिः) as the particles of sound and those of speed or motion have their origin in the vibrations of atoms and electrons. The *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (6.1.4.1) stated : 'वदति या (वाक्) वीणायाम', and the *Aitareya-āraṇyaka* mentioned regarding *veeṇā* : 'यथा ह्येवेयं शब्दवती तद्मवती एवमसौ शब्दवती तद्मवती।' Thus we find that both the words *vāṇa* and *veeṇā* express the idea of 'sound' that pervades i.e. exerts influence upon the minds of men, and it is most probable that the term '*veeṇā*' has been derived from '*vāṇa*'.

In Sumer, we come across a word '*pan*' or '*ban*', which stood for 'bow' instrument, and later perhaps for 'harp' also. Dr. Farmer said that we do not know its later name, by which it was known in Mesopotamia, although its last descen-

dants were Pahlavi *von*, and the Arabic *wann*. 'At Gizeh we espy the identical bow-harp predicated in Mesopotamia as the *ban* or *pan*, but in a form much nearer its day of puberty.[2] At this early date, when it was known in Egypt as the *ben*, *bent* or *bin*, *bint* (cf. Coptic *boini*, *oyoini*), it had a narrow and perfectly cylindrical crescent-shaped body with six strings*'.

The *veeṇā* with straight form and having a single bamboo or wooden body, evolved later on, and this required ability and intellect in playing. It is a natural law that the crude and simple type is always replaced by the developed one. In the *Saṅgīta-samayasāra*, Pārśvadeva (7th-11th century A.D.) said: '*bhajate sarvaveeṇānāṃ ekatantrī-pradhānataḥ*', i.e. though there are various types of *veeṇā*, yet the *veeṇā* with a single string (*ekatantri*) is the prime one. It is reasonable to think that the *veeṇā* with a single string (*ekatantrī*) is very ancient. And it has been mentioned before that this type of *veeṇā* required, more developed mental preparation and skill for freting and adjusting the sound-board. So we may say that the bow-shaped *veeṇā*, with one string (*ekatantrī-veeṇā*) gives rise to all sorts of *veeṇā*.

In the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization, we find the remains of *veeṇā*, along with different crude drums, crude type of pipes, and a bronze dancing girl, which go back to 3500-3000 B.C. or 4000-3500 B.C. It is well-known that the prehistoric Indus Valley people developed a unique culture and ascended the height of civilization, as was possible in that shadowy past, but *veeṇā* originated long before the prehistoric civilization and culture. Prof. Panum, on the evidence of Egyptian mural paintings, said that the date of the bow-shaped harp goes back to 4000-3000 B.C. But evidences available in India go to prove that *veeṇā* antedated the instrument, depicted in the painting. Prof. Panum further mentioned that in the 4th century B.C., Aristotle described a type of

2. Vide S. Prajñānānanda : *Music of the Nations* (Delhi, 1973).

lyre, in which strings were fastened to the top and the bottom. This type reminds us of the Indian type of single stringed *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, which evolved after the primitive form of the bow-shaped lute.

Marguerite Milward said in her *Artists in Unknown India* (1948) that she found among the primitive *Chenchu* people in the Hyderabad State, musical instrument called *kinera*, 'with three gourds as sounding boards and two strings ; peacock feathers stuck to the open bamboo ends'. It is a kind of *veeṇā* with two strings, which is called the *dvitantrī*. She said that the *Chenchus* always carry a bow and arrow in self-defence, and to shoot small birds and game for food'. It may be taken for granted that though their *kinera* was a more developed kind of *veeṇā* than the bow type one, being possessed of ten frets and three gourds, it was all the same evolved from the Bow. Miss Milward forwarded some illustrations of Saora Guitar (*Kullaten Rajan*), with a gourd and a wooden handle. It contains two keys and five frets, and two gut strings are attached to the keys. Again it may be of interest to note that another musical instrument (*Gogged Rajan*) exactly resembles our *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, but it contains two strings with two nuts, a sound-board, covered with skin, and a wooden bridge on the middle of the sound board. This *veeṇā* is played with a bow, and we may safely conclude that the Bow is the forerunner of the *veeṇā* and all kinds of stringed instruments.

Henry Balfour mentioned in *The Natural History of the Musical Bow* (1899) that the hunter's bow is the source or forerunner of all stringed instruments. W. D. Hambly said in his *Tribal Dancing* (1926) that Mr. Henry Balfour clearly demonstrated the evolution of the musical bow from the occasional adaptation of the hunter's bow, and collected a series of illustrations, explaining stages of development. He shows the transition to stage where the bow is only a musical instrument, and he maps out its distribution in Africa, North India, Cambodia, Borneo, Timor, New Guinea, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Mexico,

Brazil, and Patagonia. Mr. Hambly was of the opinion that a most ingenious stringed instrument is found among the Ba Thonga, 'who attach a calabash or sound-box to the lower extremity of a bow. The performer holds the bow at the lower third of a string with a little stick, and here it may be noted that the usual method is to tap, and not stroke, the strings of the primitive musical instrument'. 'The Bongo of East Africa make such a bow of string tightly stretched and struck by a slender strip of split bamboo. The sounding-board is not made of a calabash, but resonance is given by placing one end of the bow to the open mouth of the performer, while one hand is left free to tap the string'. Henry Balfour gave many examples of the bow instruments of Southern and Central America, Central India, and Indonesia. The bow instruments were also used by the peoples of ancient Rome and Greece. There are some evidences of the bow, among the aboriginal Bhuiyars, in the Mirzāpur hills and it is known as the *darkhun*, which is extensively used in ceremonial functions of the Bhuiyars. This type of the bow instrument, may be compared with the *kokurai*, found in South India. A kind of bow instrument, with a split bamboo comb, is used in the *kurma* dances of the Dravidians. In the Travancore state, the native Shanars also use a kind of bow instrument that resembles the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, used in India in folk songs. Henry Balfour was of the opinion that the musical instrument with monochord is a descendant of the archer's weapon. In Orissā and Chotānāgpur, we find a bow instrument with monochord, which is known as the *tuila*, used by the Ho-Koles, resembling the *gubo*, of the native people of South Africa. The similar kind of bow instrument, *bajah* is used by the natives of Orissā, and it is fitted with a string of gut or metal wire. Prof. Balfour said that 'these instruments, *tuila* and *bajah* form an important intermediate link in the developmental chain of the such highly specialized instruments as the *veeṇā* of India, * *'. The *se-san-laos* of Siam, the *piah* of Laos, and the *busoi* of Borneo, are also the bow instruments.

Prof. Hortense Panum was of the opinion that the finger-board instruments were widely used by the civilized peoples of Western Asia : the Sumerians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians and Persians, and (from the time of the New Empire) also in Egypt. A. H. Layard said in his *Nineveh and Remains* (1850) that 'the Assyrians, Like Egyptians, probably had various musical instruments ; only two kinds are represented in sculptures—a drum and a sort of triangular harp or lyre, which is held between the left arm and the side, and apparently suspended from the neck.* * The instrument was struck with a plectrum, held in the right hand ; the left appears to have been used either to pull the strings, or to produce notes by pressure. Like the Egyptian harp, it had no cross piece between the upright bar and the flat board or base'. Such is also the contention of Bonomi. He said in his *Nineveh and Palaces* that the royal minstrels played instruments with nine strings, which can be compared to the Nubian harp. But the mural painting actually represents the instrument, having only two strings. It was played with a plectrum or stick by the right hand. Some stringed instruments have been excavated from the ruins of Harculaneum and Pompeii, that were burried in 68 A.D. by volcanic eruptions of Visuvius. Most of these instruments were of the lyre and lute types.

From Egypt the slender form of the finger-board instrument may be traced to Greece, and there it was known as the *pandoura*. But by 'calling comparative science' to his aid and consulting ethnology, the German musical historian, Curt Sachs ('*Die Streichbogenfrage* ; *Arch. f. Musikwissenschaft*', 1918, I) finally came to the conclusion that 'bowing did not, as was hitherto supposed, indicate a later stage than the plucking method. Even if the monuments did not show any instance of the use of a bow in antiquity, he found in the fact that the most primitive stringed instruments in the world, used by the most primitive peoples of the present day, are consistently played by bowing, whereas the later types are always manipulated by plucking the strings ; a proof that the question

of plucking or bowing cannot be answered by chronological or technical evidence, but is a popular psychological problem. ** Among the primitive Asiatic peoples, such as the mountain and island dwellers of India, who retained their customs, it was and is still the bowing method that took the lead. Not until the Persians eventually came in contact with other nations that were culturally their inferiors, did they become acquainted with the bow. In the same manner, the classical peoples of the Mediterranean appeared in history for the plucking of the strings of their instruments, while the primitive Gothic peoples—and chief among them the Germans—introduced themselves as users of the bow.** During the interchange of cultural ideas between the nations, which took place in the Middle Ages, the national peculiarities of the instruments were gradually levelled, so that the bowed and plucked types, in many cases, changed their mode of playing and, with the co-operation of the *luthiers*, their nature also. Of the later mediæval plucked instruments, therefore, some appear clearly as descendants of bowed instruments (e.g., the Spanish Vihuela, Chitarra Battente and Guitar), just as some of the instruments that by their nature were destined to be plucked, (1) the mediæval *rebec* developed from the originally plucked Moorish *rebāb*, and the oldest types of fiddle ; and (2) The German Grossgeige, still traceable in the works of Virdung and Agricola'.[3]

But in the Vedic period, we find highly developed mechanical skill in the construction of the *veeṇā* in India. As has already been said that in *Ṛk-veda*, we come across with the word '*vāṇa*', which represents the *veeṇā* with hundred strings : '*vāno mahati veenā, śataṃ tantavo yasyāsau śatatantuḥ, tenopākaraṇaṃ. Asmin vāṇe maunjāstantavo vetasa vṛkṣasambandi vādanamityarthaḥ*'. In the *Pañchaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, it is known as the *śatatantrī-veeṇā*, made up of wood with a gourd, covered by ten strings of *muñjā* or *durvā* glass were fastened. It was

3. Cf. Panum : *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London), pp. 219-220.

played with the help of a bamboo plectrum (*koṇa*). The commentator, Sāyaṇa, has mentioned the *kṣouṇī-veeṇā* in connection with the *vāṇa*. We also find the mention of the *kaṇḍa-veeṇā*, which was no other than the bamboo flute. Besides these, we find references of the *picchorā* or *piccholā* and the *audumvarī*, made up of *udumvara* wood. When the Sāmaga-Brāhmiṇs and Yajamānas used to sing the *sāmagāna* before the sacrificial alters, their devoted wives played the *godhā* and *picchorā veeṇās*, along with *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*, the bamboo flute. The mouth of the gourd of the *godhā-veeṇā* was covered with the skin of the *godhā*. In connection with the *Pañchaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Dr. Caland said : 'Behind the Choristers * * the wives of the Yajamānas take their seat ; each of them has two instruments, a *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*, and a *picchorā* ; on these they play altogether alternately, first on the *kāṇḍa-veeṇā*, then on the *picchorā*. The *kāṇḍa-veeṇā* is a flute of bamboo, the *picchorā*, a guitar, which is beaten by means of a plectrum, Lāty. IV. 2.5-7, Drāhy. XI. 2.6-8. The Jaim br. (cp. '*Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*' No. 165) enumerates the following instruments : *karkari*[4], *ālābu*, *vakra*, *kapiśirṣṇī*, *aiṣīki*, *apaghātalikā*, (cp. Ap., below), *veeṇā kāśyapī* (cp. Ath. S. IV. 37.4 : *āghātaḥ karkaryāḥ*—'cymbals and lutes', Whiteny). Ap. XXI. 17. 6, 19 names three instruments : *apaghātalikā*, *tambalaveeṇā*, and *piccholā* : the second is, according to R. Garbe (see his Introduction to Ap., Vol. III, page VIII) a tamil *guitār*. Baudh. XVI. 20 : 266. 9-10 ; 267. 9-10 names also three instruments : *āghāti*, *piccholā* and *karkarīkā*, on which cp. the *karmāntasūtra* (Baudh. XXVI. 17 s.f.) : Sāṅkh. XVII. 8. 12 has : '*ghāta-karkarir-avaghātalikāḥ kāṇḍaveeṇāḥ picchorā iti*', read perhaps '*āghātārir-avaghāta*', etc. ; but the following passage (*sūtra* 15-17) is rather uncertain'. Again he mentioned it in the *Pañchaviṁśā-Brāhmaṇa* (cp. Jaim, br. II. 45, 418, Kath. XXXIV. 5 : 39. 10 ; TS. VII. 5. 9. 2).—The *vāṇa* is an instrument of wood,

4. Regarding *karkari* Sāyaṇa said : 'कर्करिर्यथा कर्करिर्वदति कर्करि-वाद्यविशेषः अन्यद्व्याख्यातचरम् ।'

according to *Sāṅkh.* consisting of a kind of crate and handle (cross-bar ?) ; it is covered with the skin of a red ox, hairs on the soutide, it has ten holes at its back side, over each of which ten strings are fastened ; these strings are manufactured of *muñjā* or *durbā* grass. "The strings are touched by the *Udgātṛ* by means of a reed of a piece of bamboo (with its leaves) that is bent of itself (not by hand of man) : *indreṇatayā* var-*indrana*)-*iṣīkāyā*, Jaim. Br., and from this text the word is taken over by Laty. Drāhy.* * *Udgātṛ* does not properly play on this instrument, having touched the strings * * with the plectrum, he orders a Brāhmiṇ to play on it" ; Drāhy, XI. 1. 1-16 ; cp. Ap. XXI. 18.9 ; Sāṅkh XVII. 3. 1-11'. Dr. A. B. Keith said in the *Sanskrit Drama* : "Thus at the Mahāvrata, maidens dance round the fire as a spell to bring down rain for the crops, and to secure the prosperity of the herds. Before the marriage ceremony is completed (*Sāṅkhyāna-gṛhyasūtra*, I. 11.5) there is dance of matrons whose husbands are still alive, * * and dancers are present who dance to the sound of lute and the flute, dance, music, and song fill the whole day of moving. "MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi also mentioned in connection with the musical instruments, including *veeṇā*, in the Vedic songs, *sāmagāna* : "* * a careful examination of the Vedic rites and *śikṣās* there upon drives one to the irresistable conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some *gāthās* alternately, while the wife (*Yajamāṇī*) plays on *veenā*, and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of *veeṇā*, mentioned for the above purpose, is called *piccholā*, and in another place it is called *audumvarī* औदुम्बरी that is made of *udumvara* wood".

In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (3.2.5), *veeṇā* has been described in detail. It mentioned two kinds of *veenā* : *daivī* and *mānuṣī*. It was believed that the *daivī-veeṇā* was practised by the *devas* or bright spirit and the *mānuṣī*, by the mortal men. The *Brāhmaṇa* described : '*atha khalviyaṃ daivī-veeṇā bhavati, tadanukṛtirasau mānuṣī veeṇā bhavati.* * * *lomaśena ha sma vai charmaṇā purā*

veeṇā api-dadhati', etc.[5] From this we learn that both the *veeṇās* were played with the help of the fingers. The gourd was covered with skin with hair ('*lomaśena charmaṇā apihitā*').[6]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), Vālmikī described the *veeṇā*, *vipañchī*, with nine strings, the detailed description of which is found in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (2nd century A.D.). Dr. Panum has mentioned Plutarch's remarks that when Phrynis showed the nine stringed *kitārā* in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekpres cut away two of the strings. From this it is evident that the *veeṇās*, with seven and nine strings (*chitrā* and *vipañchī*), travelled far to the Middle East, and even to the Western countries, during the time of Plutarch and Homer. Dr. Panum admitted it. He stated : "Homer says of a new type of lyre which came from Asia Minor to Greece, where the tortoise-lyre was *kitārā*, while the national tortoise-lyre was given another title, the lyre."

Again in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (400 B.C.), *veeṇā* has been referred to as *laya* and *tantrī*. The *veeṇā* played a prominent part in the music performances in Royal Courts and private chambers. It is said that the wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used the *ekatantrī-veenā* in the *Rāmāyaṇa-gāna*. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*, we find different types of *veeṇās*, used by the Kings, Brāhmiṇs, Yādavas, and Sāmagas.

5. अथ खल्वियं दैवीवीणा भवति, तदनुकृतिरसौ भवति। यथास्याः शिरः एव-
मनुष्याः शिरः, यथास्या उदरमेवममुष्या अम्भरम्। यथास्यै जिह्वा एवमनुष्यै वादनम्,
यथा अस्यास्तन्त्रया एवमनुष्या अङ्गुलयः। यथास्याः स्वरा एवमनुष्याः स्वराः, यथास्याः
स्पर्शा एवमनुष्या स्पर्शाः, यथा ह्येवेयं शब्दवती तर्द्मवती एवमसौ शब्दवती तर्द्मवती, यथा
ह्येवेयं लोमसेन चर्मणाऽपिहिता भवति एवमसौ लोमशेन चर्मणाऽपिहिता। लोमशेन ह
स्म वै चर्मणा पुरा वीणा अपिदधति। स यो हैतां दैवीं वीणां वेदश्रुतवदनो भवति,
भूमिप्राऽस्य कीर्तिर्भवति यत्र कवचार्या वाचो भाषन्ते विदुरेणं तत्र इति।

—ऐतरेय-आरण्यक ३।२।५

6. Besides, we find the mention of

क) गोधावीणाकाः काण्डवीणाश्च पत्न्यो वादयन्ति (१०।५०)

ख) Āchārya Karaka said :

गोधाचर्मना नद्धा वीणा गोधावीणाकाः, काण्डः शर इत्युच्यते, तम्मय्यो वीणाः,
ता उभयविधा-वीणाः सर्वाः पत्न्यो वादयन्ति, स्तुभिः सत्तृणस्ता उपयागयन्तीत्यर्थ।

The Buddhist *Jātakas* have stated different methods of *veeṇā* playing. It is interesting to know that in the *Jātakas* we find references to the practice of solo performances of the *veeṇā*, independent of vocal music. It was developed to a high degree. The description of the *chitrā-veeṇā*, with seven strings, is also found in the *Guptila-jātaka*.

In the *Nāradī-śikṣā* (first century A.D.), Nārada described two kinds of *veeṇā*, *dāravī* and *gātra* :

> Dāravī gātra-veḥṇā cha dve veeṇe gānajātiṣu /
> Sāmikī gātra-veeṇā tu tasyaḥ śṛṇuta lakṣaṇam //
> Gātra-veeṇā tu sā proktā yasyaṃ gyānti sāmagāḥ /

The *gātra-veeṇā* used to be played in the *sāmagāna* before the sacrificial alter, and the *dāravī*, to the accompaniment of the *jātirāgagānas*. The *jātirāgas* have been explained by Bharata, in terms of *jāti*, in his *Nātyaśāstra*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the pure type of seven *jātigānas* are also mentioned, and from this it is evident that the *dāravī* type of *veeṇā* was prevalent in the pre-Christian era. Nārada explained the method of construction and the process of playing of the *veeṇā* in detail in the *Śikṣā*. It is said that the *gātra-veeṇā* had seven strings, like the *chitrā* type of the *veeṇā*. It was the practice to place the *veeṇā* on the lap or thigh, held by one of the hands, and played with the top of the thumb, and the middle portion of the closed fingers of the other one. The strings were touched with the finger in such a way that the thumb used to remain free from the finger-bases. The Sāmagas[7] used to play the *gātra-veeṇā* with different notes, three registers, modes and tempo, according to their knowledge as well as to the directions of their experienced teachers. At the beginning of the playing of the *veeṇā*, the players first uttered the *praṇava*, then the *vyāhṛti* and *sāvitrī* or the *gāyatrī-mantram*, and finally the *vṛtta*. After this, the right hand, with fingers stretched, was placed

7. Sixteen Brāhmaṇas (priests) used to be present in a sacrifice, and some among them were sāmagāyī, and the name of the head priest was Brahmā.

on the base of the strings. Then the strings were plucked by different parts of the fingers, top of the thumb, palm, thumb, attached to the first finger, and the fingers closed and touched with palm.[8] These were the processes which were adopted in the production of short, medium or long length of vibrations. In the case of producing short sounds, the strings were touched softly with the topmost part (*tila-pramāṇa*) of the thumb and half of the upper part of the middle finger, and so on. The body of the player was not allowed to be moved except the lower portion, and that too slightly. The construction and the method of playing the *gātra-veeṇā* were somewhat similar to the harp and lyre of the Western countries.

Bharata described two kinds of *veeṇā* in the *Nātyaśāstra*, and they are *chitrā*[9] and *vipañchī*. The *chitrā* type of *veeṇā* had seven strings, whereas the *vipañchī*, nine. The *chitrā* was played by the finger, and the *vipañchī*, by the plectrum (*koṇa*). Bharata said,

> Sapta-tantrī bhavecchitrā vipañchī navatantrikā /
> Vipañchī koṇavādyā syāt chitrā chāṅgulī-vādanā //[10]

These two types of *veeṇā* were used to be played as accompaniments to the *gāndharva* or *mārga* type of *gītis*. Bharaṭa has also mentioned the names of *veeṇās* like *kacchapī* (*kaśyapī*) *ghoṣakā*, etc., in connection with the topics af *ātodya* like *puṣkara*, etc.

Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamāchāriar said in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* that the *Yāmalatantra* has also mentioned about the *veeṇās* :

8. हस्तौ सुसंयक्तो धार्यौ जानुभ्यामुपरिस्थितौ ।
गुरोरनुकृति कुर्याद् यथाज्ञानमतिर्भवेत ॥
प्रणवं प्राक्-प्रयुञ्जीत व्याहृतिस्तदनन्तरम् ।
सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो वृत्तान्तमारभेत ॥
प्रसार्य चाङ्गुलीः सर्वा रोपयेत् स्वरमण्डलम् ।
न चाङ्गुलीभिरङ्गुष्ठमङ्गुष्ठेनाङ्गुलीः स्पृशेत ॥

9. The *chitrā-veeṇā* and the *gātra-veeṇā* are the forerunners of the modern *Sitar*.

10. Vide *Nātyaśāstra* (Kāsī ed.), 29.11.

Chaturvidhānāṃ veeṇanaṃ lakṣaṇam tatri-lakṣṇaṃ /
Kinnara-svara-yantrādi-lakṣaṇaṃ mela-lakṣṇaṃ //[11]

The *Yāmalatantra* also gave twelve kinds of *lakṣmaṇas*. Besides, the *Uddīśamahā-mantrodaya-tantra* described different kinds of *veeṇā*, and they are : *tālanilaya, sallari, patana, maṇḍala, bheri-vighna, himila, thuthuka, mithakkthā, damaru, murava, aṅgulisphota, veeṇā, ālamani, rāvaṇahasta, udyanta, ghoṣāvatī, brahmaka,* etc. He said : '*Uddiśamahā-mantrodaya* appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Śiva, under the name of *Uddiśa.* As usual with such works * *, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters'.

The *Veeṇātantra* has described :

Ekaṇoviṁśaṃ veeṇākhya-tantraṃ lakṣa-pramāṇakaṃ /
Nāda-brahmānanda-siddhir-yena siddhyati vai nṛṇām //[12]

MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi said that the names of the *veeṇās* have been mentioned in different *Purāṇas, Āgamas,* and *Tantras.* Āchārya Abhinavagupta has discussed about *veeṇā* in *Śrī-saṁhitā.* In some of the *Yāmalatantras, Pañcharātra* and *Śakti* and *Śaiva Tantras,* we find descriptions of the *veeṇā.* MM. Kavi further said : 'Various *Purāṇas, Āgamas* and *Tantras* are devoted for *Gāndharva.* * * *Srī-saṁhitā* is referred to by Abhinavagupta to treat *Gāndharva* at length. Regarding *Tantras* of *Saiva, Pañcharātra, Sākteya* and *Yāmala,* only a portion of *Uddiśa-tantra* is available, which has 18 chapters on 18 kinds of musical instruments and it perhaps dealt with the whole

11. (a) Vide Ibid, 33.15.
(b) Śāraṅgadeva mentioned in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* about eleven kinds of *Veeṇā*, and they are :

तच्च दारत्वेकतन्त्री स्यान्नकुलश्च त्रितन्त्रिका ।
चित्रा-वीणा विपञ्ची च ततः स्यान्मत्तकोकिला ।।
आलापिनी किन्नरी च पिणाकीसंज्ञिता परा ।
निःशङ्कवीणेत्यद्याश्च शाङ्‌र्गदेवेन कीर्तिताः ।।

12. एकनोविंशं वीणाख्य-तन्त्रं लक्ष्य-प्रमाणकम् ।
नाद-ब्रह्मानन्द-सिद्धिर्येन सिद्धयति वै नृणाम ।।

science. *Yāmalatantras* are 32 in number and several of them of unsual size are devoted to *Gāndharva*. These works were once available in Banaras in the library of Kavīndrāchārya Sarasvatī and the 32nd *Tantra* is now extant which gives in 8000 verses, contents of all the then known works in Sanskrit'.[13]

Now, the four methods of playing the musical instruments and specially the *veeṇā* were developed from the *dhātus* like *saṁghāta*, *samavyāya*, *vistāra* and *anuvandha*. Besides these, there were four other *dhātus* like *vistāra*, *karaṇa*, *āviddha*, and *vyañjana* (vide *NS*. 29.81-115). Two kinds of method of playing of the *veeṇā* were of heavy or higher (*guru*) and light or low (*laghu*) standards. The *vipañchī-veeṇā* was extensively used in the *gāndharva* type of dramatic music of the early Christian era. The term '*dhruvā*' might have been used to denote the rythmical music or the music with tempo or *laya* or *tāla*. Śārańgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) called it the *sakala-vādya*, which is different from the *niṣkala-vādya*. The term '*kala*' denotes metre, *mātrā* or time-measure. The *sakala-vādya* or playing of the *veeṇā* with time divisions was considered as important in both dance and drama. Bharata laid stress on the *vipañchī-veeṇā*, as it was the best medium of keeping the tempo in music.

As regards the method of playing on the *veeṇā*, Bharata said that both the thumbs should touch the strings ; the left thumb should rub (*pīḍana*), and the right one should be placed on the palm, faced downwards. The process, by which the string was plucked by the left thumb, was called *niṣkotitaṃ*, that, by which it was touched by the right palm, was known as *unmiṣtaṃ*, and when struck by all the fingers, the process went by the name of *repha*. The thumb and the little finger of the right hand, faced downward, used to touch the lower strings. The method of touching thumb, together with the little finger, was known as *puṣpaṃ*. Ten kinds of method of playing were

13. Vide *The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Reasearch Society*, Vol. III, July, 1928, pp. 26-27.

prevalent in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). The process of *karaṇa* was of five kinds. Bharata said : '*iti daśavidhaḥ prajojya veeṇāyāṃ vyañjano dhātuḥ*' (29-95), and '*pañchavidho vijñeyo veeṇā-vādye karaṇa-dhātuḥ*' (29-96). Śāraṅgadeva admitted a new *dhātu* of the *veeṇā*, which was known as *nāda*. It was produced by plucking or striking of the strings of the *veeṇā*. Perfection in the art of playing the *veeṇā* has been indicated by Bharata's division of the microtones or *śrutis*, through the medium of two *veeṇās* of the same size, *chala* and *achala*. Perhaps it was he who for the first time measured the length of the strings of the *veeṇā* for determining the microtones, and thus made the position of the *veeṇā* unique in the domain of Indian music.

Different types of *veeṇā* of different sizes are found in the mural paintings and sculptures existing in various old cave-temples and ancient Buddhist topes and *stūpas* in different parts of India. In Ajantā, Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bhuvaneśvara, Nāgārjunakuṇḍa, Mahāvallipuram, Chidāmvaram, and also in different parts of Bengal, we find paintings and bas-reliefs of the *veeṇās* in stones and terracottas, most of which are of the harp-type. The *veeṇās*, represented on the railings of the Bhārhut-*stūpa*, were chiselled during the second century A.D., and those appearing in the Ajantā frescoes were painted between the second to seventh century A.D. The bow-type *veeṇā*, which is found impressed on a type of coins of the Emperor Samudragupta, is a representation of the instrument of the fourth century A.D. The *veeṇā*, excavated from the mounds of Rupar, is possessed of four strings. It has been stated by Y. D. Sharma in his accounts of *Exploration of Historical Sites* (vide *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1955, p. 126) : 'There are terracotta figurines in Śuṅga and Kushāna style * * and include a seated figure of a lady playing on lyre reminiscent of Samudragupta's figure in likewise position on his coins.' The sequence of cultural periods at Rupar has been divided into six, extending, from *circa* 2000-1400 B.C. to 1300-1700 A.D. The *veeṇā*, found in Rupar, dated from *circa* 200 B.C.

to A.D. 600. The sculptural representations of the Gāndhāra and some of the Amarāvatī types of *veeṇā* (first-second century A D.) look somewhat different from their counterparts of Ajantā and Bhārhut. They resemble the modern *saroda*, with three or four strings. The use of this *saroda* type of ancient *veeṇās* (*svara-veeṇās*) were also prevalent in Nāgārjunakuṇḍa in India, Tunhāng in China, Bāzākilk, Quizil, Turfān, Yotkān in Khotan, Russā, Barabodur, Champā, and other places of the Central, Middle, and East Asian countries. But in Mahāvallipuram (seventh century A.D.) and in different parts of Bengal (ninth-fourteenth century A.D.), we find designs of different *veeṇās*, having two gourds, one at each end of the *daṇḍā*, and they were known as the *sarasvatī-veeṇā*. This type of *veeṇā* is also found in the sculptures of the Chidāmvaram temple. So it is found that the construction of the *veeṇā* underwent various modifications, to suit the taste and temperament of the peoples of different ages.

The Sanskrit treatises like *Saṅgīta-samayasāra* (ninth-eleventh century), *Saṅgīta-makaranda* (fourteenth-sixteenth century), *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* (thirteenth century) etc., mentioned and described various types of *veeṇā*. Pārśvadeva mentioned *veeṇās* like *chala*, *kinnarī*, *laghūpūvikā*, *vṛhat-kinnarikā*, etc. He has described ten methods of playing like *cchanda*, *kāmakalā*, *Vasupūrvakā*, *gajalīlā*, *parivādanaṃ*, etc. He also dealt with the methods of construction of different kinds of *veeṇā*, along with the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, which is considered a favourite of Śaṅkara or Śiva. He further observed that the *ekatantrī-veeṇā* or lyre with single string is an important and ancient instrument.

Nārada of *Makaranda* said about the *veeṇās* like *kacchapi*, *kubjikā*, *chitrā*, *parivādinī*, *jayā*, *ghoṣāvatī*, *jyeṣṭhā*, *nakulī*, *mahatī*, *vaiṣṇavī*, *brāhmī*, *raudrī*, *rāvaṇī*, *sarasvatī*, *kinnarī*, *saurandrī*, *ghoṣakā*, etc.

Śāraṅgadeva described two main types of *veeṇā*, *śruti* and *svara*. By *śruti-veeṇā*, he means the *veeṇā*, by which twenty-

two microtones of the two ancient scales or *grāmas*, *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama*, were determined. He said :

Tatra Śrī Śāraṅgadevena śruti-veeṇodita pūrā /
Vakṣyate svara-veeṇātra * * * //[14]

He described the *veeṇās* like *ekatantrī*, *nakula-tritantrikā*, *chitrā*, *vepānchī*, *mattokokilā*, *ālapanī*, *kinnarī*, *pinākī*, etc. He himself devised a new type of *veeṇā*, named after him, which is known as *Niśaṅka-veeṇā*. He described elaborately about the methods of construction and playing of different kinds of *veeṇā* (vide the *ślokas* 104 to 340). Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) fully described the *veeṇās*, in the third chapter, *veeṇā-prakaraṇam* (*ślokas* 1-78), of the *Svaramelakalānidhi*. He said that there should be a cross-bar or *daṇḍa*, with a gourd or *tumba* on the left-hand side, attached with a round piece of metal, called *nābhi*, and so on. He divided the *veeṇās* into three main heads, and they were *śuddha-mela-veeṇā*, *madhya-mela-veeṇā* and *achyuta-rajendra-mela-veeṇā*. These three types of *veeṇā* differ only in their arrangements and names of the notes, according to their respective microtones. Rāmāmatya determined all the placed (*śuddha*) and displaced (*vikṛta*) notes, by means of four strings of a *veeṇā*, instead of twenty-two, adopted by Bharata. After Rāmāmatya, almost all the musicologists of India dealt with the problem of *veeṇā*, as it formed the basic medium for the determination of the tones and microtones of the *rāgas* of Indian music. So, it can be said that all the stringed instruments (*tata-yantra*) of India have their origin in the Vedic *veeṇā*. The ancient *kacchapī* or *kāśyapī* is known in the modern times as the *kachuā-sitār*. *Kacchapī-veeṇā* is sometimes termed as the *veeṇā* of the goddess Sarasvatī. The *tritantrī-veenā* is somewhat similar to the *kacchapī-veenā*. The difference between the *kacchapī* and the *kinnarī* lies in the number of their strings and structures. The former contains five to seven strings, whereas the latter only five. The *kinnarī* was known as the *kinnara*, in the land of the Jews. The *rabāb*

14. तत्र श्रीशारङ्गदेवेन श्र तिवीणोदित पुरा * * वक्ष्यते स्वर-वीणात्र * * ॥

is also a kind of *veeṇā*, known as *rudra-veeṇā*. In Afghanisthan and Persia, the *rudra-veeṇā* is called the '*rabāb*', and in Arabia, it is known as '*rubāb*'. The Sanskrit name of the *saroda* is *sāradīyā-veeṇā*,[15] and it is played by the plectrum (*koṇa*), instead of finger (*aṅguli*). The *sura-śṛṅgāra* is also a kind of *veeṇā*, and it is said that *veeṇkāra* Peeyār Khāṅ constructed this instrument, out of the *veeṇās*, *mahatī*, *kacchapī*, and *rudra*. The *sura-bāhāra* is also a changed form of the *kacchapī*. *Tumburu*, *tamburā* or *tānapurā* is known as the *tumburu-veeṇā*.[16] The *nādeśvara-veeṇā* looks like the violin, but its arrangements of the strings and frets are like those of the *kacchapī*. We get also the names of the *veeṇās*, *bharata* and *prasaranī*. It is said that the *bharata-veeṇā* was fashioned out of the *veeṇā*, *rudra* and *kacchapī*.

Different postures are adopted for playing different kinds of *veeṇā*, but generally two of them are common, and they are vertical (*ūrdhava*) and horizontal (*śayāṇa*). In ancient paintings and sculptures, oblique postures of the *veeṇās* are sometimes found and they have also been mentioned in the Sanskrit treatises. In South India, sacred traditions are observed in the method of playing the ascending and descending notes first, then the *svarāvalī*, *geetaṃ*, *varṇaṃ* and *kīrtanaṃ* are consecutively practised or played. Rhythm and tempo of the *veeṇā* are kept by *pakhowāj* or *mṛdaṅgam*. The body of the *veeṇā* is generally made of jackwood, rosewood or sandelwood nowadays. The frets are made of steel or bronze. A wood or ivory bridge is also attached to the sound board. Accoustical uniformity and balance are strictly observed, along with the geometrically accuracy, in the case of freting and measuring the length of the brass or silver and steel wires, so as to produce distinct, sweet and pleasing sounds. Seven strings are common, but more than seven are also found in the modern *veeṇā*. On the basic principles of harmony, the funda-

15. Some say that *Sāradiyā-Veeṇā* and *Rudra-Veeṇā* are one and the same.

16. The origin of *Tumburu* has been discussed in the next chapter.

mental frequency of the sounds is always observed in the method of playing, to produce accurate vibrations of the tones. The tonal values of the basic strings are multiplied and enriched by harmonies of upper partials. The main intervals of just intonation in the *saptakas* are observed to realize the exact frequency ratios from the fundamental, and upon it depends the real temperament and spirit of the tones and tunes of the *veeṇās*.

The musicologists (*śāstrakāras*) divide *veeṇā* into two main classes, *śuddha-mela* and *madhya-mela*. They have again classified them into two, *akhila-rāgamela* and *eka-rāgamela*. The *akhila-rāgamela* means the *veeṇā* with *vajra* or *achala* (unshifted) *thāta*, and all the *rāgas* are produced in this *thāta*. But in the *eka-rāgamela*, different *rāgas* are produced, and the frets are shiftable in it. In the *veeṇā*, one more *saptaka* (Western 'octave') is used under the *mandra-saptaka* (*udārā*), and it is known as '*anumandra-sthāna*'. Now, if we illustrate the different *sthānas* (frets and wires) in the *veeṇā*, we find the bases of the notes in the frets as,

CHART

mandra-ma	*mandra*	*anu-mandra-pa*	*anu-mandra-pa*
			The notes on the *meru*
mṛdu-pa	śuddha-ri	śuddha-dha	1 śuddha-ri
śuddha-pa	śuddha-ga	śuddha-ni	2 śuddha-ga
O	śuddha-ga	kaiśika-ni	3 sādhāraṇa-ga
śuddha-dha	mṛdu-ma	mṛdu-sa	4 mṛdu-ma
śuddha-ni	śuddha-ma	śuddha-sa	5 śuddha-ma
kaiśika-ni			
mṛdu-sa	mṛdu-pa	śuddha-ri	6 mṛdu-pa

It should be remembered that this chart has been prepared mostly according to the dictum of *Rāgavivodha* of Paṇḍit

Somanāth (1609 A.D.). The notes are changeable in different *veeṇās*, according to the changes of their frets.

South India has preserved, even to this date, the sacred traditions of *veeṇā*-playing, whereas in the North it is somewhat neglected. The *veeṇā* is an instrument very difficult to handle. Earnest, sincere and protracted practice like that of spiritual *sādhanā* is necessary to attain proficiency in it. Śāraṅgadeva said in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*,

> Darśana-sparśane chāsyā bhoga-svargāpavargade /
> Punīto vipra-hatyādi-pātakaiḥ patitaṃ janaṃ //
> Daṇḍa śambhu-rūmā tantrī kakubhaḥ kamalāpatiḥ /
> Indrā patrikā brahmā tumbaṃ nābhiḥ sarasvatī //
> Ḍorako vāsukīrjivā sudhāṁśuḥ-sārikā rabiḥ /
> Sarva-devamayī tasmad-veeṇeyaṃ sarva-maṅgalā //[17]

That is, by seeing and touching the *veeṇā*, one attains the sacred region and liberation. It purifies the sinner, who is even guilty of killing a Brāhmin. The *daṇḍa*, made of wood or bamboo, is Śiva, the string is Devī Umā, the shoulder is Viṣṇu, the bridge is Lakṣmī, the gourd is Brahmā, the navel is Sarasvatī, the connecting wires are Vāsukī, the jīva is the moon, and the pegs are the sun. The *veeṇā* thus represents nearly all the gods and godesses, and is, therefore, capable of bestowing all kinds of divine blessings, benediction and auspiciousness. By practising the sacred *veeṇā*. one can harmonize both the mundane and supra-mundane lives, and make himself free from delusion and bondage of all sorts for ever and ever. The practice of *veeṇā* should, therefore, be revived and raised to its pristine glory, and should be looked upon as means to an end.

17. दर्शन-स्पर्शने चास्या भोग-स्वर्गापवर्गदे ।
पुनीता विप्रहत्यादि-पातकैः पतितं जनम ॥
दण्ड शम्भु-रुपा तन्त्री ककुभः कमलापतिः ।
इन्दिरा पत्रिका ब्रह्मा तुम्बं नाभिः सरस्वती ॥
डोरको वासुकीर्जिह्वा सुधांशुः सारिका रविः ।
सर्वदेवमयी तस्माद्वीनेयं सर्वमङ्गला ॥
सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर (वाद्याध्याय) ६।५६

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TUMBURĀ

History and Origin of Tumburu-Veeṇā :

There are controversies regarding the place of origin of *tumburā* or *tamburā*, but it must be admitted for many reasons that the musical instrument *tumbura* originated in the soil of India. *Tumburā* is known as the drone instrument, and the artsites of Indian music realise tones of music from the vibrations of the strings of the *tumburā*. A *tumburā* or *tamburā* is possessed of a *tumbā* or gourd which receives and intensifies the resonance of sounds, produced by the plucking of the strings. The *tumbā* is, therefore, recognised as a reservoir of sweet and soothing sounds. The *tānpurā* is a modern name of *tumburā*, and it signifies the production of accurate sounds of the tones. The *tumbura* evolved from the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, which is commonly known as *ektārā* or simple musical instrument with single string that produces the mono tone. Well has it been said by Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva, in connection with his learned and informative article on the *Emergence of Drone in Indian Music* (vide the Madras Music Academi Journal, vol. XXIII. pts. 1-4, 1952) : "The word *tumburā* is usually associated with is Riṣi Tamburu ; and the appellation *tamburā* is supposed to be derived from his name, as it was his *veeṇā*. * * , it may be suggested that the word *tamburā* (or its older form *tumburā*) may be related to *tumbi* (?)[1] meaning a gourd." We know that gourd has been *very* commonly used as a resonator for the stringed instruments ; for instance, even the folk drone, *ekṭar* has for such a purpose (Prof. V. S. Apte, in his *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, quotes the following

1. It must correctly be said *tumbā*, and not *tumbi*, because *tumbi*, is known as that which is possessed of a *tumbā* or gourd.

from *Bhāminivilāsa*, 1.80 : "*na hi tumbophala-vikalo veeṇādaṇḍah prayati mahimānaṃ*").

In fact, *tumburā* or *tambura* is a kind of *veeṇā* or lute class instrument, and it evolved gradually from the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, as has been said before. The artistes of Indian music gradually developed the finger-plucked simple *ekatantrī-veeṇā* to the four-stringed *tumbura*, to suit the purpose of producing other concordant tones along with the basic tone, drone (*sadaj*). We know from Dr. B. C. Deva that late Prof. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, found that name, *kalāvatī* of the Tumburu's *veeṇā* (and not of *tamburā-veeṇā*) in the *Abhidhāna-chintāmani*. Now it should be noted that *tamburu*, *tumburu* and *timburu* are the mutilated names of the Gāndharva, an emanation of Śiva or Bhairava, an emanation of Śiva. *Tumburā* or *tamburā* has been ascribed to his name, and it is evident that *tnmburā* is an Indian musical instrument of the *veeṇā* class.

Now, who is Tumburu ? Generally we know that Tumburu is a semi-divine Gāndharva like Nārada, Bharata, Hāhā, Huhu, Viśāvasu, Aśvatara and others. It is said that like Nārada, Tumburu was an accomplished musician as well as a musico-logist and also a dramatist. While discussing about the Tāntrik texts, studied in ancient Kambuja, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bāgchi said : "The *Sangitāloka*, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music, cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are : (1) Brahmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Śiva, (5) Rambhā, and (6) Tumburu : "*śiva-nandikeśvara śivarambhāstathā tumburuḥ*" (cf. MM. H. P. Sastri : *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 72, and also *Introduction*, XXX). These are the names of the gods who revealed music to the mortals. * * Tumburu is a Gāndharva. A stringed instrument, *tumburā*, is connected with his name. Though there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than Śiva himself. * * The four Tāntrik texts, therefore,

seem to have represented four different *amnayas*,[2] connected with the four faces of Tumburu, who was, in all appear, an emanation of Śiva himself like the Bhairavas" (cf. *Studies in Tantra*, Calcutta, 1939 pp. 13-14).

Dr. B. R. Chatterji was of the opinion that "the theory of Panchasikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Beluva* (*Bilva* ?) wood. The Gāndharva Timburu (Tumburu) is also mentioned in the *Prasadi-kasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of these *sūtras*, the name of the Gāndharva is transcribed as *Tan-feoulu*=*tam-lieu-ru*=*tam-buru* * * . The *Mahābhārata* refers to Tumburu on several occasions; in Ādiparva (65.51) : *supriya chatibahusca vikyatan cha hāhā-huhun / tumburuscheti chatvaraḥ smṛtah gāndharvasattamah //* (Vide *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 273-74).

Now, it is found from the inscription of *Sdok-kak-Thom*, discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia or Kambuja, that the mystic cult of Devarāja, along with some Tāntrik texts, was introduced in Kambuja, during the reign of King Jayavarman II. Jayavarman II came from Java and ascended the throne in the Śaka year 724 (802 A.D.). It is said that a Brahmin, named Hiraṇyadama came from Janapada, supposed to be some place in India. Hiraṇyadama gave Śivakaivalya, the royal priest of Jayavarman, four *śāstras* like *śiraścheda*, *viṇāśikha*, *sammoha* and *nayottara*, which were really the four faces of Tumburu. Dr. B. R. Chatterji also admitted that "the word Tumburu (of which, according to the inscription, the four texts, consists the four faces) is the name of a Gāndharva and there is a *Gāndharvatantra* in the Viṣṇukrāntā group." Lochana Kavi also mentioned in the *Ragatarangini* (Dvārbhāṅgā edition) the name of a *Tumburu-nātak*, which ascribed to the name of Riṣi or Gāndharva, Tumburu. Both Dr. Bagchi and Dr. Chatterji said that Tumburu is the name of a Gāndharva, or of Śiva, or of Bhairava, the emanation of

2. But it should be remembered that Śiva is practically possessed of five faces, and so fine *āmnāyas* are ascribed to Śiva.

Śiva-Mahādeva. They admitted that Tumburu was efficient in art and science of music, and his instrument was named after him, known as the *tumbura-veeṇā* or *tumburā* or *tamburā*. Now this fact proves that *tumburā* or *tamburā*, the absolute drone instrument of Indian music, is not of indigenous origin, but it evolved in India as a class of *veeṇā*.

Francis W. Galpin informed us that in Turkey, a musical instrument, *tānbur* with its Arabic name, is available. In Babylonia, it is known as *tanboura* with some changed forms. A very large bass guitar, *tamburā*, is also found in Croatia, over 6 feet in height and strung with four strings (cf. *A Text-Book of European Musical Instruments*, London, 1946, pp. 92-93, 102) Prof. Hortense Panum mentioned a monochord musical instrument, called *pandoura*, which, in the course of time, degenerates into Oriental *tanbura*, which in the East was principally used to indicate the long-necked original type, but which, in the combination *tanbur kirassen*, was also used by the Arabs to designate the pear-shaped instrument."[3] But it should be remembered that *pandoura* and *tanbur* are quite different from the Indian *tumbura* or *tambura* which was no fret. Prof. Carl Engel said that the *tamboura* of Hindustān differs chiefly from those, described in having no fret, and "generally of an extraordinary large size. * * ". Karl Geiringer and Anthony Baines did not specifically mention about the *tambora*-like instruments in their *Musical Instruments* (1945) and *Musical Instruments through Ages* (1961).

Prof. Carl Engel discussed about the instrument *tamboura* beautifully in his book, *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*. He said that *tamboura* is specially in use in Persia, Hindustān and Asiatic Turkey. It is also found in Egypt. "Mr. Villoteau, the intelligent musician, who was a member of the Scientific Expedition which accompanied Napolian Bonaparte to Egypt", said Prof. Engel, "has given us the most circumstantial information of it which we possess. He saw and

3. *Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages*, London, pp. 215-216.

examined in Egypt not less than five kinds of *tambouras*, which differed from each other principally in size, in slight variation in the shape of the body, in the number of their strings, and in a few other similar points."

In Egypt, the *tambourā* is at present not much in use. Prof. Engel said in this connection : "The high antiquity of the *tambourā* among the Egyptians is proved by the fact that a figure of it is found among the hieroglyphs, meaning *nofre*, 'good' ; which also seems to indicate that it was at early time held in much favour. It occurs in representations of concerts of the eighteenth dynasty, which dates, according to Sir Gardar Wilkinson, from B.C. 1575 to 1289. Some of the heiroglyphs, in which it occurs are, however, at least 600 years earlier". From this it is understood that the practice of *tambourā* is very ancient in Egyptian and other lands. In Iran, it was known as *tumburā*, in Arabia, as *tānbur*, in modified forms. Dr. H. G. Farmer also mentioned in his *A History of Arabian Music* (1929) the stringed instrument, *tunbur*, similar to *pandore* (cf. pp. 5-7, 31, 47, 149, 155 etc.). But the Arabian or Persian or Assyrian *tānbur* or *tānbour* or *tanboarā* is quite different from the Indian *tumbura* or *tambura*. Prof. Engel was right when he has taid : "The *tambouru* is used by the Hindoos either as a solo instrument for instrumental performance, or for accompanying the voice".

In conclusion, it can be said thar *tumburā* or *tambura* is purely an Indian musical instrument, and it developed gradually from the *ekatantrī-veeṇā*, as has been said before to accompany the classical and also *devotional* music. It is quite true that representation of modern type of *tumburā* or *tamburā*-like musical instrument are not found in the ancient sculptures and paintings, but we notice many simple types of *veeṇā* (lute), depicted in the early sculptures and paintings, and we should not forget that *tumburā* was originally a *veeṇā*-type of instrument. We also find references of *tumburu-veeṇā* in different literature and Tāntric texts. Now, it can be asked as to how the musical instrument came to be known as *tumburā* or *tamburā* ? From

the close study we know that *tambura* or *tumburu-veeṇā* originally took its name from its vital part *tumba* or gourd, the reservoir of resonance of the sounds. *Tumburā* is also known as *tumbi*, being possessed of *tumbā* ("*tumbā astyarthe in*"). Dr. B. C. Deva mentioned that, according to Abdul Rasak Kanpuri, the word *tamburā* is neither Persian, nor Arabic, but is Indian and his (Razak's) '*Al-Bāramika*' gives the Indian term *tumbā*, which was modified into *tumburā* in Iran and *tānbur* in Arabia. We have also discussed that *tumbura* is connected with the name of Riṣi or semi-divine Gāndharva, Tumburu, and mythologically this instrument might borrow the name, *tamburā* from Gāndharva Tumburu.

Further it should be noted that mere resemblance of shape and name of the Indian *tumburā*, with those of the instruments of other countries, does not prove it to be indigenous in origin. It might be possible that the simple type of *tumburā* or *tumburu-veeṇā* travelled to other countries in the most ancient days, through the medium of trade and religious missions; or it might be the fact that for the cause of cultural fusion of one country with the other, the simple type of ancient *tumburā* found its way to be introduced in the system of music of other nations.

Antiquity of the Tumburu-Veeṇā

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of origin and practice of *tumburā* or *tamburā* in the Indian society. In the pre-Christian and also in the early Christian era, we find the pictures of the *veeṇās*, depicted in sculptures of different Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries and cave-temples. Their shapes are quite different from those of the *veeṇās*, current in the mediæval and modern times. Most of the *veeṇās*, depicted in the ancient Buddhist cave-temples and monasteries look like the half-bent harps, fitted with different numbers of wire, made of grass or animal intestines or thread. But the *tumburā*-like *veeṇās* are very rare in the ancient sculptures. It

is most probable that the modern type of the *tumburā veenās* is found in both the Rājasthāni and Muhammedan Ragamala pictures of the 17th-19th century. It might be the fact that *tamburā* type of *veenā* was introduced by both the Rājput and the Muhammedan Rulers in their courts for classical and devotional songs, and from that time onward it was in practice by the artistes of Indian music. The shapes, decorations, and fittings of the *tamburās* took different forms and motifs in different times, according to the tests or likings of the artistes as well as of the designers of the instrument.[4]

4. In this connection, it can be said :

(a) *Esrāj* : It seems that the word Earāj has been derived from the Urdu word (Ā—E—Sh) Āaish-Raj which means Aaish (*aesh*)—easy or easy access + Raj—greatly. The entire meaning of the, musical (string) instrument is that which can *greatly be used* or *played at ease*. Now, this siring instrument was devised in Bengal (perhaps by a Bengali artist). It is said that when Wāzed-Āli-Shāh of Lucknow came to Bengal and settled at Metiyaburuz (Calcutta), this instrument, Earāj (*āyesh + rāj*)—the musical instrument which is handled and played with ease and with great access, was devised by an artist (probably Bengali) *with the mixture of Sitār and Sāreṅgi*. The frets (*ghats*) of Esrāj are similar to those of Sitār, but played with stick (*chaḍri*) as is played on the Sarengi. When Md. Basat Khan, a renowned Mohammedian artist settled from Calcutta at Gayā, perhaps he took it and introduced it at Gayā. Then the renowned artists like Kānāilāl Dheḍji and others of Gayā took this (*easily accessed*) instrument Esraj with care, and began to culture, and this instrument was much appreciated at Gayā, and gradually was appreciated in Bengal too.

(b) *Sitar* : The origin of *sitar* or *setār* can be traced back to *chitrā-veeṇā* possessed of seven strings. The *gātra-veeṇa* is also possessed of seven strings, and the *gātra-veeṇā* is more ancient. Nārada mentioned the name of the *gātra-veeṇā* in the *Śikṣā*. So both *gātra-veeṇā* and *chitrā-veeṇā* can be considered to be the fore-runners of the modern *sitār*.

(c) *Saroda* : It is known as the *sāradiyā-veeṇā* which can be traced back to *rudra-veeṇā*. In Persia, the *rudra-veeṇā* is known as *rabāb*, and in Arabia it is known as *rubāb*. However, both the musical instruments, *saroda* and *rābāb* are of Indian origin like *violin* or *vāhulin*, the Indian name of which is *dhānur-yāntrām*. It is sometimes believed that *sāroda* and *rabāb* had their origin in Afganisthan and not in India, but we think that a close investigation should be made for its definite determination.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

IDEAL OF INDIAN MUSIC

Music is a Fine Art

Music is a fine art. It represents the divine beauty and grandeur of creation, the Art of God. The *Upaniṣad* says that God is the greatest Poet and Ordainer : '*kaviṃ purāṇam anuśāsitāram*', and this gigantic universe is a poetical piece, composed by Him. The intrinsic beauty and glory of this wonderful poetical piece is expressed by music, and so it can be known as the greatest art.

Music is a kind of balmy medicine that heals the aching hearts of men and animals, and removes the pangs of the suffering multitude. In the antique days, the primitive men and women used to sing and dance in the midst of their multifarious activities, deep cares and anxieties. They sang and dance, because they found solace in their distress or disappointment or tedium in them. The peoples of Vedic and Classical days acquired the habit of singing and dancing, to enliven their society and culture. The tradition of ancient music passed in different ways in the ancient and mediaeval times, and the same is maintained even to this day with some new inhovations. The peoples still find happiness and peace in spite of the toils, turmoils and trials in their earthly lives.

A great Western philosopher said that man is a storehouse of emotions or sensations, which build him, lead him and inspire him throughout his life. A man works, being motivated by the inspiration of his will. He design a plan of his work before he does it outwardly. His will is the force-centre and prime-mover of everything he intends to do, nay, it is the designer of his life, personality and character. The musicology tells us that will creates music, and music allures the

mind of all living beings and makes them divine in this earth. But there lies a difference between the will-to-work and will-to-music, as the former creates the nets of desires that bind men in the den of delusion, while the latter makes him free from the fetters of desires, which is no other than nescience. The musicology states that sound is like the physique with flesh and blood, whereas vital force or *mukhya-prāṇa* is the *psyche* or soul of music. The sound represents two-fold aspects, causal and gross : the causal, being unmanifested, is imperceptible, and the gross is perceptible, and is known as 'music'. The gross sound comes out through the vocal chord, and enriches itself with tone, microtone, mode, melody, rhythm and tempo, and æsthetic sentiment. It is mainly known by its richest ingredient, melody or *rāga*, that evolves from the combination and permutation of notes. In India, the *rāga* reached climax. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the living forms of the *rāgas*, and the poets composed their colourful contemplative *dhyānas*. Music in India is, therefore, recognised as spiritual food and divine blessing to men and women, and by its practice they attain immortality even while they live in mortal frames. The human soul finds in it the goal of seemingly unending journey, and gets tranquillity and everlasting bliss.

Evolution and Music

Indian Music admits the theory of evolution, and though it underwent various changes in different periods, yet it maintains an unifying principle and basic ideal of its own. It developes some new and novel manifestations, unifies them, and makes them fit for proper application by the society. Its highest function is to create æsthetic beauty, and bring through it the real peace and enjoyment in the minds of those, who listen to, and appreciate it. As a painter draws at first a bare outline of a portrait, and then fills it up with colours, moods, and graces, so an artist of Indian music first designs

a skeletal form of a melody (*rāga*), by the arrangement of tones and tunes, and then enriches it with *mūrcchanā*, *alaṁkāra*, *tāna*, *gamaka*, *meeḍs*, etc. First there comes an outline of motif in the way of creation or manifestation of a *rāga*, and then follows the process of ornamentation. But mere construction and ornamentation are not the entire thing for the representation of a melodic pattern or *rāga*, but it requires something more to infuse life in it, and to energise it. Creation of a thing is meaningless without proper understanding and enjoyment of its beauty and grandeur. As God the Almighty creates the universe to enjoy His own greatness and beauty, so an artist of music creates music to appreciate and enjoy the inner significance of his own creation.

Appreciation of Music

Now, what do we mean by the word 'appreciation'? To appreciate a thing means to get into the very core of the thing, to commune with the thing, or to become one with the thing. As for example, when we appreciate a picture, we first study the motif of the picture, and then go into its intrinsic beauty and divine grace. So when we appreciate music, which is the combination of words, tune, rhythm and tempo, grace and sentiment, we first hold on to the compact of music, and then get into it, loose our separate entity into it, and become one with it. And that is the real meaning and significance of the appreciation of music. The proccss of appreciation does not know any diversion, separation, or difference, but it creates a permanent inseparable bond that makes the singer and the listener and undivided one. Indian Yoga psychology calls this appreciation a process of concentration and meditation. So, when we appreciate music, we first concentrate and meditate upon the compact of music, and then become one with it. So, the nature of Indian music is introspective. It moves gracefully upwards and downwards from a fixed point, and completes its circuit, keeping eyes to the sonant, which forms

the life-force of the melodies and their manifestations. The accompanying musical instrument are tuned or tempered with the drone. It is a special feature of Indian music to make an amity with the concordant ones, using properly the sonant (*aṁśa* or *vādī*), the assonant (*anuvādī*), and the consonant (*samvādi*). The sonant is known as the king or ruler, the consonant, the minister and the dissonant, the enemy. Synthesis is its keynote, and it leads the intuitive artists and lovers of music towards the realization of the transcendental beauty, and that means appreciation of music.

Music : Indian and Western

Indian music is mainly based upon melody or *rāga*,[1] whereas the Western music is principally founded on harmony. Melody means a succession of single sounds, and the harmony is the simultaneous production of chords and different tones or sounds. T. P. Kṛṣṇa Rāo clarified this difference in his book *The Psychology of Music* : 'It is the melody of Indian music alone that can express internal emotions faithfully, and it is harmony of the West that can express the external emotion. Melody primarily succeeds emotion, while harmony precedes it. Harmony lets emotion in, and melody lets it out. Melody unites or repels the hearts, while harmony unites them with nature'. We thus find a fundamental difference between the two systems of music, Indian and Western. But Indian and Western systems of music appear different not only in respects of melody and harmony, but also in many other respects. Indian music weaves a fabric of systematic and scientific evolution of notes, seminotes, melody-types or *rāgas*, music-parts or *dhātus*, graces, and æsthetic emotions and moods. The nature of Indian music is to move round the drone, which

1. It should be noted that 'melody' of the Western music is not the correct synonym of '*rāga*' of the Indian music, as Indian *rāga* conveys more deep significance and meaning that melody does. Indian melody is more than a means or a process, and it is an end in itself.

is known as the primal and fundamental note. Drone is called the foundational, because it helps to manifest and develop the notes other than it. It may be said to be a centre of unification, and all other notes are harmoniously bound up with and related to it. It is recognised also as a synthetic force-centre that brings unity in diversity.

A little insight will show that Indian music lends to the artists ample freedom and liberty to evolve and create new and original techniques and forms of music. Though it is true that Indian music follows some prescribed rules and injunctions for making it manifest, yet there is immense scope for new creation. Western music, in this respect, is rigid to some extent. In the West, the artists have no free hand to create and produce music, as they are bound to reproduce the fixed notations, given by the composers. They cannot even extemporise, when giving a demonstration of composed music. But it must be admitted freely, however, that the orchestration of their music is as rich and unique as it is beautiful, and the harmony rendered in their music is wonderful. Indian music has, on the other hand, a very broad vision. It never ignores the independent status of the artist's creative genius, rather it is fully aware of the fact that freedom is the inner essence of man, and he has every right of freedom in his choice of beauty and colourful artistic creation. The new light of freedom and independence has dawned upon the horizon of India. In this age of renaissance, the old stereotyped things are being replaced by the new and novel ones, and new hope, spirit and aspiration are gathering upon the fading past.

Indian Music should take a New Drive

The music of India has reached its climax, after passing through many changes in various ages, and yet it requires additions and alterations,—a vision of reconstruction and synthetic creation. Indian music has not only been elevated by the contribution of the Persians and the Mughal Durbārs,

in the mediæval period, but it has also been enriched and reformed by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India, from time immemorial. Fusion of culture makes the nerves of a nation strong and vigourous, and brings about novelty of thoughts and ideas in the society. Indian music is, in this respect, very liberal in its outlook and broad in its vision, as it embraces all the elements, indigenous and foreign, to make its form and volume perfect and rich.

This is an epoch of revival and reconstruction ; this is an age of science and reason. The Indian music should now march through a new course, and take a new drive, adopting itself to the taste and temperament of the present changing dynamic society. The *prabandha* type of *dhruvapada-gīti* is unique and divine, but its present monotonous demonstration has made it unpleasant to the masses. The artists of the *dhruvapada* are sometimes found to take recourse to the mechanical feats of bare techniques like intricate *bāṭas*, etc., to the detriment of its ideal, sweetness and æsthetic beauty, and as such it is fast becoming a dead art,—an art of the past in the present music society. It is deplorable as well as pathetic.

Sense of Proportion is Required

The classical *kheyāl* type of songs, which is apt to create an atmosphere of wonder and grace with its artistic composition and intricate *tānas*, has also fallen from its high pedastal, has lost its real spirit and creative impulse, along with its prime aims and objects. Its demonstration sometimes appear to be too heavy and mechanical, and the unbalanced limitless *tānas* and *gitkārīs* destroy the basic structure of *rāga* and its sense of proportion and intrinsic beauty. So, in presenting Indian music, earnest efforts should be made to keep its spirit and ideal before the eyes. *Thuṁrī*, *ṭappā*, and other types of song have undoubtedly won the hearts of the music-lovers, but yet sometimes they are sung monotonously, devoid of

real perspective and motive. The *padāvalī-kīrtana* of Bengal, *kīrtana*, *padam*, and other types of songs of South India, and *bhajana* and other religio-devotional songs are appreciated by the people at large, but some of the artists are devoid of the sense of creating a religious atmosphere in their songs. They mostly lack spiritual insight, and so their efforts result in failure. It is, however, not a destructive criticism of, or a challenge to the worshippers of fine arts, but is only a plea, for restoring or reviving the sublime ideal and true spirit of glorious Indian music.

Everything happens in this world with a motive behind. There is no aimless marching, or an accidental happening anywhere, in this vast universe. Culture of music, in the same way, has an object, which must be directed towards the good and welfare of the human society at large. Men of all ages and climes consider music as the greatest medium for artistic expression, which is not found in the same way in the domain of literature, sculpture, painting, and architecture. And so, music has been called the 'universal language' that speaks not only to the ears of living beings, but also to their hearts, with an immediate emotional and spiritual appeal.

Greatness of the Art

Then the question necessarily arises wherein lies the greatness of the art of music. The answer is that not merely it lies in the fascinating combination of words (*sāhitya*) and tunes (*sura*) of music, but in the proper representation of its spirit that brings out its real significance and value. The greatness of music depends upon its efficient and artistic rendering and creation, and, consequently, upon the selective faculty of the intuitive artists. So the artists should be fully aware as to how to create and represent the art of music, with their minds wide open to the sense of proportion, beauty, and real value of music. They should first attain proficiency in history, science, theory, psychology, and æsthetic philosophy of music, and

then realize the true significance of the art. Otherwise, it will be a meaningless and aimless reproduction of tones and tunes, resulting in a blind imitation, destitute of life and motive force.

Musicians should be conscious while Creating Art

Music of any kind, of any country, should not be burdened with mere mechanical techniques and textures, but it should be of deep significance. The artists of music should know that music is a common property, and all have a claim and right to get a share in it, to enjoy it, and to consider it as the means of solace and everlasting peace. It should be properly handled and distributed with a keen sense of beauty, together with proportion and balance. The artists of music should keep their minds open to the receiving capacity and depth of appreciative sense of the listeners. They must bear in mind that music should always be made sweet and suitable to the taste of both the special and general classes of listeners. Music, classical or folk, urban or rural, must not be set apart for a selected community or chosen class of people, but its appeal should be made universal, bearing in the mind the beautiful motto that music is an universal language that speaks to all classes of listeners, irrespective of caste, creed, and denominations.

Latent should be Potent

Divine beauty and solemnity lie within the core of music, but as they naturally remain latent and unmanifested, they shall be made potent and manifest by efficient and intelligent handling. The vibrations of tones and tunes create impressions in men and animals, and colour the mind in the form of sensation and feeling. Artists should know how to vitalize the music and to apply it for the practical utility of the human society at large. Music should, therefore, be looked upon as an applied art and science, and be cultured

with the purpose of creating a novelty in presentation. It must not be bound up with a chain of rigid rules and restrictions, but should be made mobile, with scope for additions and alterations, when and where necessary. The taste and temperament of the modern society should not be ignored or overlooked. We should bear in mind that the reigns of Il-tut-mish, Ālā-ud-dīn khaljī, Sultān Husain Sharqī, Muhammed Shāh, Ākbar and others are long over. The foreign rule has come to an end. Renaissance has downed over the horizon of independent India, and its light has brought new hope and new aspirations in the hearts of her people. Now the awakened soul of India should be invoked to infuse new light and new spirit in the body of the present system of Indian music. Narrowness of the age old petrified ideas and prejudices should be removed and rectified, and all the talents of India and abroad should put their heads together with a siprit of amify and love, for a comparative study and proper development of music.

India's Contribution to the Domain of Culture

India's contribution to the domain of culture and civilization is immense. Whether be it in literature, poetry, philosophy, religion, spirituality, and positive science, or in the field of sculpture, painting and music. Though these arts differ from one another in their modes of expression and representation, yet their intransic value, abiding essence, and basic principle are one and the same, and all of them draw inspiration and æsthetic impetus from one fountain-head. Rāi Bāhādur Ramāprasād Chanda cherished the same opinion when he said that we cannot appreciate the beauty or power of æsthetic rapture and emotion (*rasa* and *bhāva*) in anything, until art is created. It is true that a medium is necessary to express the real value and beauty of the Fine Arts. Tones and tunes have been chosen as the medium in music, words in poetry, structures of buildings in architecture, chiselled

images in sculpture, and colours, lines, and drawing in painting. Through all these media, beauty of Nature is apperceived and appreciated. The beauty of Nature is the basis of all expressions of Art. Besides the medium, there is an ideal in Indian Art. Because a medium or means expresses the gross material skeleton, flesh and blood of Art, whereas, ideal reveals its life-force or spirit.

Ideal of Indian Art

The ideal of Indian art is to represent the idealistic and spiritualistic aspects of an object, and at the same time illumine its realistic phase. As for example, the Buddhist art of India designed the stone image of Lord Buddha in a posture of meditation, which apparently shows no great artistic ability and marvellously reveals the inward depth of spirituality, calmness, serenity, and repose, which the Greco-Roman art fails to exhibit. The French indologist Growsset prefers to call this phase of Buddhist art as the Romano-Buddhist art of Gāndhāra. Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee drew a line of distinction between the arts, Greco-Roman and Romāno-Buddhist. He said that the first is relatively static and insipid, and is marked by the emphasis on anthropomorphism and individualism, and the assimilation of symbols and motifs from the contemporary art of the Roman Orient, rather than by the Indian spirituality and idealism. Whereas the second one under the influence of Mahāyāna idealism breathes a purely Buddhist-Indian spirit although the technique is Hellenic. The Buddha and the Bodhisattva master-pieces of the second school of Gāndhāra exhibit profound Indian piety that subdues Hellenism. 'The art of Gāndhāra', estimated Dr. Mukherjee, 'achieved its maturity by the end of the first century A.D. and continued to influence India through the schools of Mathurā, Vidiśā and Sāranāth up to the 5th century. • The influence of the art school of North-West India and the Kābul Valley, characterised by a fusion of Hellenism and

Hinduism in the cosmopolitan Kushān world, penetrated to every nook and corner of India in the course of five centuries'.

Such is also the case with Indian music, which is markedly distinguishable in its form, ideal and beauty, from the music of the other countries. Though Indian music appears realistic in its presentation, yet it breathes deep spirituality. It brings Heaven down to the earth, and uplifts the mind of every earthly being. The history of Vedic India reminds us of its spiritual legacy of the sacred *sāman* chants. The adept chanters of hoary antiquity used to sing the *sāmans* in praise of Agni, Varuṇa, Indra, Mitra, and other gods, and although they aimed at material prosperity on the surface, yet their main object was to attain spiritual illumination. Music of India has preserved that solemn tradition and ideal, all through the ages, and so the authors on music have laid the greatest emphasis upon its spiritual side. They say that practice of music is a *sādhanā* which unfolds the grand mystery of human life.

Music of India, whether Northern or Southern, is, therefore, a divine art. It constitutes the object of a psycho-material principle, and creates an objective beauty of the subjective divinity, that inspires the artists to attain a vision of the transcendental beauty. In fact, the art of music makes it possible for its votaries to commune with Nature, and discloses the unplumed deeps of its mystery. It animates human ideas, and brings perfect balance between inner tranquillity and outward activity. The ideal of music is, therefore, to get the highest and yet the sweetest means to man's ultimate end. It promises to rescue the people at large, from the dark den of delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of permanent peace and eternal happiness, even in this world of nescience.

Indian music recognizes the methods of philosophical, religious, and spiritual disciplines. It recognises both the Yoga system of Patañjali and the mystic practices of the Tantra philosophy. If we go deep into the first chapter of Śāraṅgadeva's *Saṅgīt-Ratnākara*, where he beautifully discussed the theory of Nāda or Sphota, we find a clue to explore the

entire field not of Indian music, but also of the world-music. There Śārangadeva said that culture and knowledge of Indian music are not meant for fleeting material and intellectual pleasures, nor does it rest content merely with an intellectual construction and reproduction, as the Western music does in many cases, but its principal objective is to dissociate the mind from the worries and anxieties and sordid selfish interests of this transient world and to help the artists and audiences to concentrate their minds on the matrix of music, and to attain spiritual consciousness.

APPENDIX

PLACE OF MUSIC IN GENERAL HISTORY

Music is only now beginning to take the place due to it in general history. It seems a strange thing that concepts of the evolution of man's soul should have been formed while one of the strongest expressions of that soul has been ignored. But we know what difficulty the other arts have had in obtaining recognition in general history, even when they were more favoured and easier of approach by the French mind. It is so long ago that this did not apply to the history of literature and science and philosophy and, indeed, the whole of human thought ? Yet the political life of a nation is only a superficial part of its being ; in order to learn its inner life—the source of its actions—we must penetrate to its very soul by way of its literature, its philosophy, and its art, where the ideas, the passions, and the dreams of its people are reflected...

On the surface, literature and philosophy may seem to give us more definitive information by reducing the characteristics of an age to precise formulas. On the other hand, this artificial simplification may leave us with inelastic and impoverished ideas. Art is modelled on life, and it has an almost greater value than literature because its domain is infinitely more extended...........

Music perplexes those who have no feeling for it ; it seems to them an incomprehensible art, beyond reasoning and having no connection with reality. What help can history possibly draw from that which is outside ordinary matter and therefore outside history ?... ....

It constantly happens that the arts influence one another, that they intermingle, or that, as a result of their natural evolution, they overflow their boundaries and invade the domains of neighbouring arts. Now it is music that would

become painting, now painting that would be music. "Good painting is music, a melody", said Michelangelo, at a time when painting was giving precedence to music, when Italian music was extricating itself, so to speak, from the very decadence of other arts. The doors between the arts are not closely shut as many theorists would pretend, and one art is constantly opening upon another. Arts may extend and find their consummation in other arts ; when the mind has exhausted one form, it seeks and finds a more complete expression in another. Thus is a knowledge of the history of music often necessary to the history of the plastic arts.

But the essence of the great interest of art lies in the way it reveals the true feeling of the soul, the secrets of its inner life, and the world of passion that has long accumulated and fermented there before surging up to the surface. Very often thanks to its depth and spontaneity, music is the first indication of tendencies which later translate themselves into words, and afterward into deeds......

Thus music shows us the continuity of life in apparent death, the flowering of an eternal spirit amidst the ruin of the world. How then should one write the history of these times if one neglected some of their essential characteristics ? How should one understand them if one ignored their true inner force ? And who knows but that such an omission might falsify not only the aspect of one period of history but the whole of history itself ? Who knows if the words "Renaissance" and "Decadence" do not arise, is in the preceding example, from our limited view of a single aspect of things ? An art may decline, but does Art itself ever die ? Does it not rather have its metamorphoses and its adaptations to environment ? It is quite evident, at any rate, that in ruined kingdom, wrecked by war or revolution, creative force could express itself in architecture only with difficulty ; for architecture needs money and new structures, besides prosperity and confidence in the future. One might even say that the plastic arts in general have need of luxury and leisure, of refined society, and of a

certain equilibrium in civilization, order to develop themselves fully. But when material conditions are harder, when life is bitter, starved, and harassed with care, when the opportunity of outside development is withheld, then the spirit is forced back upon itself, and its eternal need of happiness drives it to other outlets ; its expression of beauty is changed and takes a less external character, and it seeks refuge in more intimate arts, such as poetry and music. It never dies—that I believe with all my heart. There is no death or new birth of the spirit there, for its light has never been extinguished ; it has died down only to blaze anew somewhere else. And so it goes from one art to another, as from one people to another. If you study only one art you will naturally be led to think that there are interruptions in its life, a cessation of its heart-beats. On the other hand, if you look at art as a whole, you will feel the stream of its eternal life.

That is why I believe that for the foundation of all general history we need a sort of comparative history of all forms of art ; the omission of a single form risks the blurring of the whole picture. History should have the living unity of the spirit of humanity for its object and should maintain the cohesion of all its thought.

Let us try to sketch the place of mustc in the course of history. That place is far more important than is generally thought, for music goes back to the far distances of civilization. To those who would date it from yesterday, one would recall Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who made the decadence of music begin with Sophocles ; and Plato who, with sounder judgment, found that no progress had been made since the seventh century and the melodies of Olympus. From one age to another people have said that music had reached its apogee and that nothing but its decline could follow. There are no epochs in the world without their music, and there has been no civilized people without its musicians at some time in its history—even those whom we are accustomed to regard as least endowed

with the gift of music, as for example, Endland, which was a great musical nation until the Revolution of 1688.

There are historical conditions more favourable than others to the development of music, and it seems natural, in some respects, that a musical efflorescence should coincide with the decadence of other arts and even with a country's misfortunes. The examples which we have quoted from the time of the Invasions and from the seventeenth century in Italy or Germany incline our belief that way. And this would seem quite logical, since music is an individual form of thought and for its expression demands nothing but a soul and a voice. An unhappy person, surrounded by ruin and misery, may nevertheless achieve a masterpiece in music or poetry.

But we have been speaking of only one form of music. Music, although it may be an individual art, is also a social art ; it may be the offspring of meditation and sorrow, but it may also be that of joy and even frivolity. It accommodates itself to the characters of all people and all time ; when one knows its history and the diverse forms it has taken throughout the centuries, one is no longer astonished at the contradictory definitions given to it by lovers of beauty. One man may call it architecture in motion, another poetical psychology ; one man sees it as a plastic and well-defined art, another as an art of purely spiritual expression ; for one theorist melody is the essence of music, for another this same essence is harmony. And, in truth, it is so ; they are all right.

So history leads us, not to doubt everything—far from it —but to believe a little of everything ; to test general theories by opinions that are true for this particular group of facts and that particular hour in history ; to use fragments of the truth. It is perfectly right to give music every possible kind of name, for it is an architecture of sound in certain centuries of architecture and with certain architectural people, such as the Franco-Flemings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also drawing, line, melody, and plastic beauty, with people who have an appreciation and admiration for form, with painter

and sculptor people like the Italians. It is inner poetry, lyrical outpouring, and philosophic meditation with poets and philosophers like the Germans. It adapts itself to all conditions of society, It is a courtly and poetic art under Francis I and Charles IX ; an art of faith and fighting with the Reformation ; an art of affectation and princely pride under Louis XIV ; an art of the salon in the eighteenth century. Then it becomes the lyric expression of revolutionaries, and it will be the voice of the democratic societies of the future, as it was the voice of the aristocratic societies of the past. No formula will hold it. It is the song of centuries and the flower of history ; its growth pushes upward from the griefs as well as from the joys of humanity.[1]

ROMAIN ROLLAND

1. Printed from Romain Rolland's *Essays on Music* (published by Allen, Towne & Heath, INC, New York, 1948), pp. 3-11.

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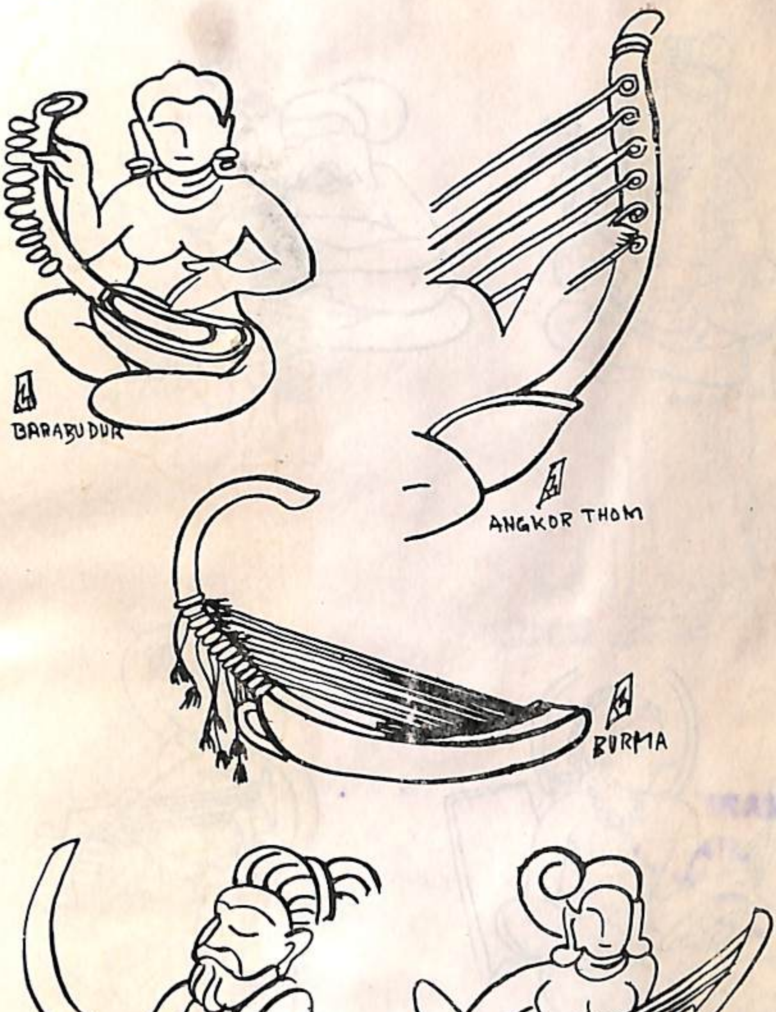
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1) The books on *Aesthetics* by the European, German, and Italian writers.
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Veenas of the Harp Type
(*B*arabudur, 8th century A.D. ; Angkor Thom, 12th-13th century A.D. ; Burma, 2nd-8th century A.D, Cambodge, 6th-13th century A.D.)



Veenas of the Saroda and Harp Types
(Barabudur, 8th century A.D. ; Champa, 1st-2nd—13th century A D. ; Samudragupta with Veena, 4th century A.D. ; Sumara, Russia, 5th-6th century A.D.)



Veenas with one and two Gourds

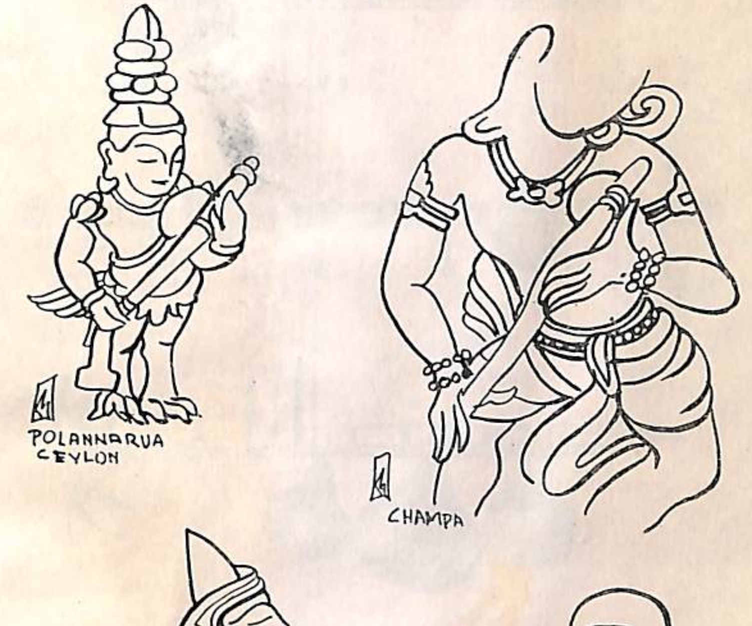
(Mahavalipuram, 7th century A.D. ; Bagali-Kaleswara, 14th century A.D. (Bengal) ; Rangpur, 9th century A.D. ; Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)





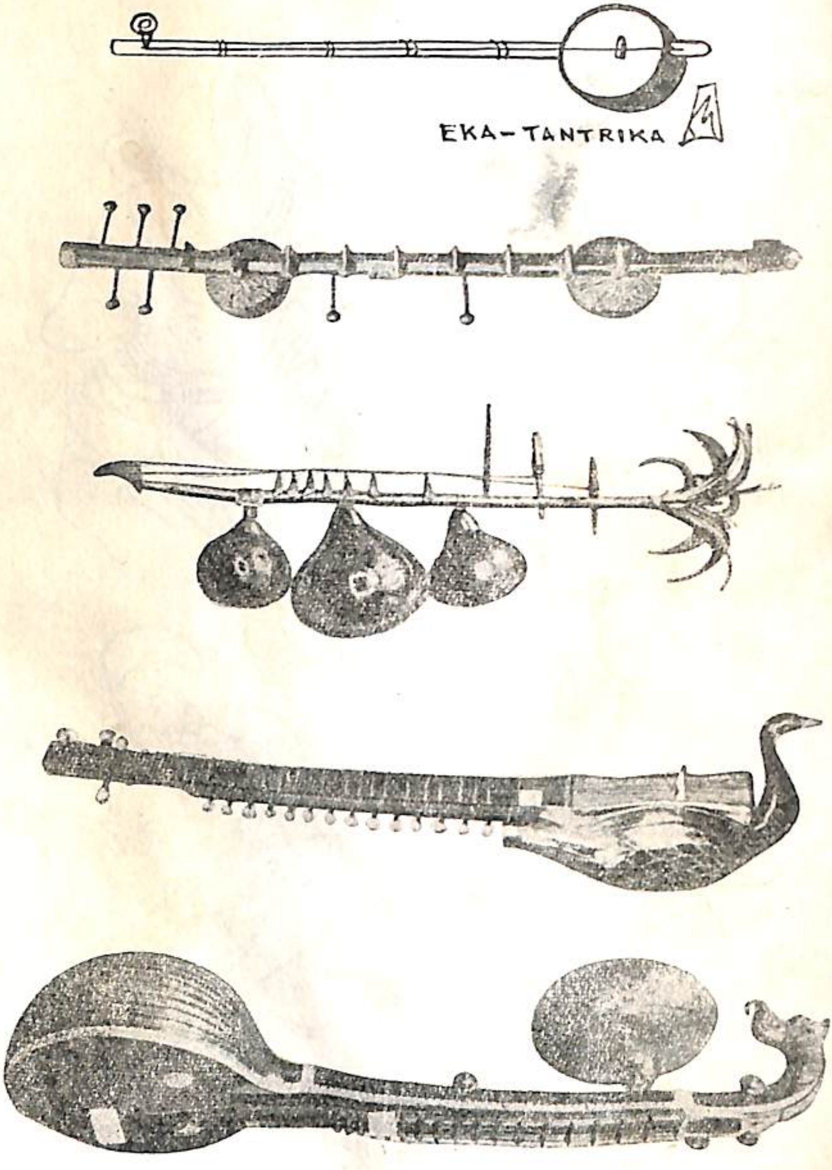


Veenas of the Harp Type
(Amaravati, 2nd-3rd century A.D. , Qizil, 6th century A.D.)



Veenas with one Gourd

Polannarua, Ceylon, 7th century A.D. ; Champa, 1st-2nd — 13th century A.D.)



Veenas of modern Type

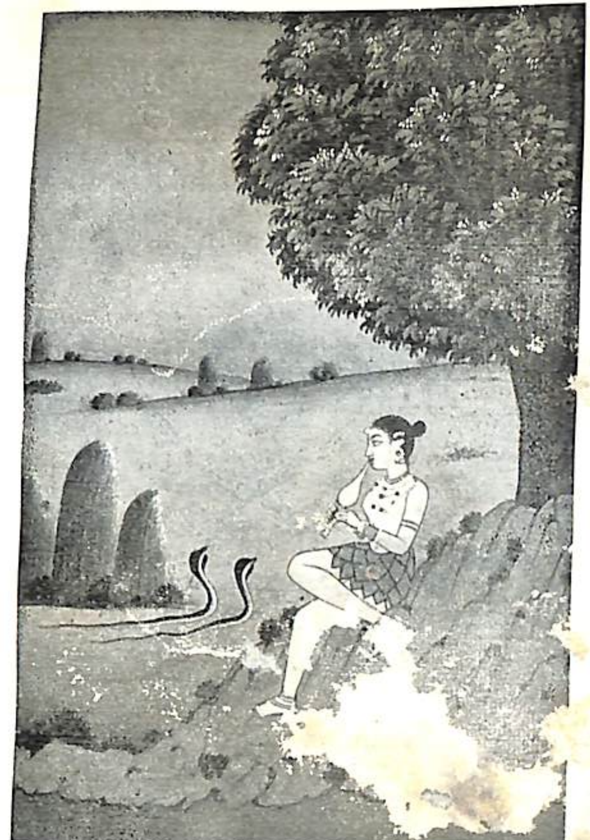
1. Eka-tantri-veena ; 2. Mahati-veena ; 3. Kinnari veena
4. Mayuri-veena ; 5. South-Indian Veena.



Veenas of ancient Type (Gandhara) and Harp Type
Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D. ; Barabudur, 8th century A.D., Bharut, 200 B.C.



Ragini Kedara



Ragini Ashavari